

ASIANATICAL
MUSEUM

VOL. 16

1950

L.B.G.K.V.



PR
250.5
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गुरुकुल काँगड़ी, हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

पुस्तकालय



विषय संख्या R 950.5
पुस्तक संख्या C12 JB
पुस्तक पंजीक संख्या Vol. XVI, NO1

पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना
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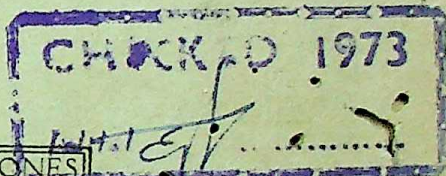
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL
LETTERS

Vol. XVI, 1950, No. 1

(Pages i-142)

(Plates I-VIII)

(Supplement i-xxvi)



ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL
1 PARK STREET, CALCUTTA 16

Issued August, 1950

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1950

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RESEARCHES IN ANCIENT INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

By P. C. SENGUPTA

(Received May 16, 1949)

As researches in Astronomical Chronology, the following nine papers of mine were published in the *JRASB. Letters*:—

- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| (1) Some Astronomical References from the
• Mahābhārata and their Significance .. | Vol. II, 10, 1937. |
| (2) Bhārata Battle Traditions .. | } Vol. IV, 15-18, 1938. |
| (3) Solstice Days in Vedic Literature .. | |
| (4) Madhu-Vidyā or the Science of Spring .. | |
| (5) When Indra became Maghavan .. | |
| (6) The Solar Eclipse in the R̥gveda and the
Date of Atri .. | Vol. VII, 3, 1941. |
| (7) Time Indications in Baudhāyana Śrauta
Sūtra .. | Vol. VII, 9, 1941. |
| (8) The Gupta Era .. | Vol. VIII, 2, 1942. |
| (9) Time Indications in Kālidāsa .. | Vol. IX, 3, 1945. |

The researches published in the above papers revised and improved upon, together with my other findings in Indian Chronology, were incorporated in my work, *Ancient Indian Chronology* and published by the Calcutta University in the form of a book in 1947 A.D. It now appears from some reviews ¹ & ² of this work that some of my data, their sources and consequently the findings therefrom have been doubted. In the present paper I propose to defend my view-points and clarify those doubts.

In the prehistoric research portions of my work and in some of the above-named papers, doubts expressed by the reviewers relate to the sources, the *Mahābhārata*, *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Śrauta Sūtras*. I take up first the *Mahābhārata* as the source for finding the year of the Bhārata battle.

The epic *Mahābhārata*, as we have it now, has received many additions but we cannot discard it altogether as a source for history, it is an *itihāsa* which means something like a chronicle. On this point Bhāskara II's *dictum* as to this sort of literature as handed down to later times runs thus ³: that in finding the reliable portions of such works, we are to accept as true only those statements that can stand the test of scientific examination. When I selected my data from the *Mahābhārata*, I closely adhered to this rule of scientific consistency, and avoided all omens which are clearly later additions and cannot by any stretch of imagination be believed to have been the integral parts of the original Pāṇḍava saga. I concentrated my attention in my selection of data to the scattered lunisolar indications alone, and carefully avoided all summaries, which were all later additions having

¹ Herbert Chatly, Dates in Indian Antiquity, *The Observatory*, Vol. 68, No. 874.

² V. Ramesam, Review of *Ancient Indian Chronology*, *The Hindu* (Madras), dated 25-7-1948.

³ Bhāskara II, *Grahagaṇita*, Comm. on *Bhagaṇādhyāya*, 1-6. अपत्तिमान्वाचकः
प्रमाणम् ।

hardly a shadow of truth in them. My chief data for finding the year of the Bhārata battle are only three, viz.:—

- (i) That there was a new moon at the *Sar Antares* (*Jyēsthā*) in the year of the fight.¹
- (ii) That the battle which lasted eighteen days, ended on the day of the moon's conjunction with *Śravaṇā* (*Allair*).²
- (iii) That between the end of the fight and the first day of the sun's northerly course, the interval was of 50 days.³

With regard to the first datum, there has not been raised any objection from any quarter. As to the second some doubts have been expressed on a wrong interpretation of the verses of the *Śalyaparva*, ch. 35, 13-14⁴, which normally mean that Valadeva being smitten with grief at the prospect of the great carnage imminent went away on a pilgrimage tour to the holy bathing places on the river Sarasvatī, and on the *Anurādhā* day Kṛtavarmā with his whole army of Yādavas sided with Duryodhana. Here by a ludicrous misconstruction, viz. combining the first verse of stanza 14, with lines of stanza 13, the commentator Nilakanṭha made out that Valadeva started not on the *Puṣyā* day but on the *Anurādhā* day. Wherever there is anything astronomical the commentator has been always misleading. In giving this interpretation he has quite forgotten the import of the sixth stanza of the same or the preceding chapter which says that Valadeva had gone out on the *Puṣyā* day and returned on the *Śravaṇā* day, the 42nd from the *Puṣyā* day.⁵ That from the *Anurādhā* day, the *Śravaṇā* day, the date would be the 6th, 33rd, 60th day, and never the 42nd day—is a fact missed by the commentator and his followers. Hence my conclusion that on the last day of the battle the moon was conjoined with *Śravaṇā*, is of unshakeable validity.

Now taking into consideration the data (i) and (ii) together, we see that the moon may take 4, 31, 58, etc. days in A.P. to pass from *Antares* to *Allair*, i.e. from *Jyēsthā* to *Śravaṇā*. As the battle lasted 18 days, we are forced to accept that here this period of the moon's transit from *Antares* to *Allair* as of 31 days.

Next as to the *Mahābhārata* datum (iii) tabled above, that between the end of the fight and the first day of the sun's next northerly course, there was an OBSERVED interval of fifty days. We now proceed to show that this was impossible for interpolation by using any one of the Indian astronomical methods both the prescientific and *Siddhāntic* ones. I have shown in Chapter I of my book that this interval could not be interpolated by using knowledge of the *Jyautiṣa Veśūṅgas* wherefrom the interval works out as between 57 and 54 days.⁶ We now come down to the era of the early *Siddhāntic* period of Indian astronomy, dated from about 500 A.D.

Now from the day of the new moon at <i>Antares</i> till the end of the fight the period was of	..	31 days (a).
Between the end of the fight and the 1st day of the sun's next northerly course the interval was of	..	50 days (b).
Total	..	81 days.

¹, ² and ³ P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, MBh. references numbered (i), (vi) and (vii) on pages 3, 6 and 7.

⁴ The text is: ततो मन्युपरीतात्मा जगाम यदुनन्दनः ।

तोर्ययात्रां हलधरः सरस्वत्यां मन्त्रायणाः ॥ १३ ॥

मेघनक्षत्रयुक्तेन सहितः सर्वयादवैः ।

शययामास भोजस्तु दुर्योधनमरिन्दमः ॥ १४ ॥

⁵ P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, MBh. reference (vi) on page 6.

⁶ P. C. Sengupta, *ibid.*, pp. 19-24.

These 81 days comprise $2\frac{3}{4}$ lunations. With the lunar month of *Mārga* (lunar *Agrahāyana*) begun with the new moon at *Antares*, in $2\frac{3}{4}$ lunations, the day of the last quarter of lunar *Māgha* must come as the first day of the sun's northerly course,¹ and the winter solstice day came one day earlier, i.e. in 80 days. Here the lunar month must be taken as new moon ending.

The *Kali Ahargana* (i.e. number of days of the *Kali* era)

on the *Jyesthā* new moon day of 2449 B.C. or

—2526 of the Śaka era becomes ... 238,755 days.

Now add for the W.S. day of 2448 B.C. ... 80 days.

The number of days of the *Kali* era for the W.S. day of 2448 B.C., works out as ... 238,835 days.

This *Ahargana* is necessary if calculation be made according to the *Khaṇḍakhādya* of Brahmagupta and the modern *Sūrya Siddhānta*. But as we want to examine the potentiality by the *Sūrya Romaka* and the *Pauliśa Siddhāntas* as summarized by Varāhamihira in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, we have to find the negative *Ahargana* for the date from the epoch of Varāha's this work. Now the epoch of the zero day of 427 of Śaka era² works out as the day of the *Kali Ahargana* = 1317123. The *Kali Ahargana* on the day of the W.S. of 2448 B.C. = 238835; hence the negative *Ahargana* of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* for the winter solstice day of the year 2448 B.C. = -1078288 days.

The rules according to the *Sūrya*,³ *Romaka*⁴ and the *Pauliśa*⁵ *Siddhāntas*, as given by Varāha for the luni-solar elements are true for the mean midday at Ujjayinī. Hence in making calculations according to the first two works named before, the *Kali Ahargana* should be taken at 238834.5, i.e. half a day less. The calculation is shown below:—

Siddhānta (1)	Ahargana (2)	Mean Sun (3)	True Sun (4)	Long. of W.S. acc. to Siddhānta (5)	Differences (6)
Khaṇḍakhādya of Brahmagupta	+238834.5	10s 15° 55' 16"	10s 17° 51' 13"	10s 9°	8° 51'
Mod. Sūrya Sid- dhānta	Kali +238834.5	10s 15° 57' 2"	10s 17° 49' 19"	10s 9°	8° 49'
Varāha Sūrya Sid- dhānta	P. Siddhāntikā -1078288	10s 15° 55' 16"	10s 17° 51' 13"	10s 6°	11° 51'
Varāha Romaka Siddhānta	-1078288	9s 10° 42' 48"	9s 12° 39' 23"	9s 6° 30'	6° 9'
Varāha Pauliśa Siddhānta	-1078288	10s 14° 51' 43"	10s 16° 50' 4"	10s 3°	10° 50'

The longitude of the winter solstice of the year 2449 B.C. has been based on the longitude of *Regulus* or *Maghā* in these *Siddhāntas* on the

¹ P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, MBh. Reference (viii) on page 8; also see 'Note on the variation of lunar months in the Vedic Period' annexed.

² *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, ch. I, 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, 1-2.

³ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1, 1.

hypothesis that the winter solstice was known as very nearly opposite to *Regulus*. The longitude of *Regulus* in the first two works = $4^{\circ} 9'.2$ Hence the longitude of the winter solstice has been taken = $10^{\circ} 9'$ in the *Siddhānta* notation. The *Pañcasiddhāntikā* gives the longitude of *Regulus* as = $4^{\circ} 6'.3$ Hence winter solstice (2448 B.C.) has been assumed to have been = $10^{\circ} 6'$ according to the *Sūrya* and the *Paulīśa Siddhāntas*. In the case of the *Romaka Siddhānta* the longitude of *Regulus* has been corrected for -29.5 centuries by $29^{\circ} 30'$. Hence the longitude of *Regulus* for 2449 B.C. has been taken = $3^{\circ} 6' 30'$ and that of the winter solstice = $9^{\circ} 6' 30'$ in the *Romaka* notation.

The differences in column (6) show that according to the *Khaṇḍakhādya* and the modern *Sūrya Siddhānta*, the sun reached the winter solstice 9 days earlier. According to the *Sūrya Siddhānta* as given by *Varāha*, the sun reached the winter solstice 12 days earlier. Similarly it is readily seen that according to the *Paulīśa* and the *Romaka Siddhāntas* the sun reached the winter solstice 6 and 11 days earlier. Necessarily for the interpolator the possible interval between the end of the fight and the first day of the sun's northerly course could have been 41, 41, 38, 44 and 39 days respectively. Never could the interpolator get at the interval of 50 days of the *Mahābhārata* statement by using these *siddhāntas*.

The above calculation completely explodes the standpoint of one reviewer that the astronomers after the Christian era were very competent to make the necessary calculations to interpolate the *Mahābhārata* references I have used as bases for finding the year of the Bhārata battle.

There is no evidence of the influence of the Indian *Siddhāntic* astronomy that can be traced in the present *Mahābhārata*. The great epic does nowhere speak of the signs of the zodiac, does not mention the days of the week. When it speaks of the solstices, etc.⁴ the text has reference to the equinoxes, the solstices, and the ends of the 86th days and not 86° as measured from the beginning of the vernal equinoctial year. Even the names tropical months stated in the *Mahābhārata* as *Dhātā*, *Mitra*, *Aryamā*, *Śakra*, *Varuṇa*, *Aṁśā*, *Bhaga*, *Vivasvān*, *Puṣan*, *Savitā*, *Trastā* and *Viṣṇu*⁵ are not the names of these months of the *Siddhāntas*. The attempt at tracing the influence of the Indian *Siddhāntic* astronomy on the great epic is to run after a mere chimera.

Thus it is fully established that the lunisolar data I have derived from the *Mahābhārata* itself and have used them for finding the year of the Bhārata battle cannot be held as interpolation by any subsequent redactors. They belong to the most ancient strata of the epic—they were the statements of the original Pāṇḍava saga from which the *Mahābhārata* grew into its present form in successive stages.

How elegantly from the set of three data enunciated before, the date of the Bhārata battle comes out is now very briefly stated.

The year in our time in which the new moon at the closest approach to *Antares* (*Jyēsthā*) happened was the year 1929 A.D. and the date was December 1, 1929. After 80 days from it the date was the 19th of February, 1930—the true lunisolar-stellar anniversary of the winter solstice day of the year of the Bhārata battle. Nowadays the winter solstice falls on

¹ P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, quotation from *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XII, 3, on p. 15 and also MBh. reference cited on p. 171, No. (2).

² P. C. Sengupta, Introduction to Burgess' Translation of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, Calcutta Univ. reprint, p. xxvii.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ MBh., *Vaṇa*, ch. 198, the concluding lines.

⁵ MBh., *Ad.* ref. 123, 15-16.

December 22. Between this date and the 19th of February, there is an interval 59 days by which the winter solstice day has preceded. We now take the rough proportion that the winter solstice day precedes in this particular case, by one day in 74.22 years.

Hence on multiplying 74.22 years by 59, we get the elapsed years till 1929 A.D. as = 4378 years. We have again to make the year of the Bhārata battle exactly similar to 1929, in respect of lunisolar-stellar phenomena. Now remembering that 19, 160 and 1939 sidereal years are true lunisolar-stellar cycles¹ we have,

$$4378 = 1939 \times 2 + 160 \times 3 + 19 + 1.$$

Hence the period of 4378 years has got to be curtailed by one year, and the correct interval between 1929 A.D. and the year of the Bhārata battle is to be taken at 4377 years sidereal. Now from 1929 A.D. we subtract 4377 years and arrive at the astronomical year of -2448 A.D. or 2449 B.C. which is the year of the Bhārata battle as established in the *Ancient Indian Chronology*. This finding gets corroborated by the Vṛddha Garga Tradition as recorded by Varāhamihira about the Yudhiṣṭhira era having the zero year of -2526 Śaka era.

In judging the lunisolar data as obtained from the *Mahābhārata*, I have used the year 1929-30 A.D. as the gauge year, as the new moon at *Antares* on December 1, 1929 A.D., happened as near as possible to this star. We could as well take year 1934-35 A.D. as the gauge year in which the new moon at *Antares* happened on the 6th December, 1934. The *Mahābhārata* data would then lead to the 25th February, 1935, as the true anniversary of the winter solstice day of the year of the battle. This would raise the year from 2449 B.C. to about 2829 B.C.—a finding that has no anchorage of a recorded tradition and is of no use to us. Similarly some other solutions are possible, but none excepting the finding of 2449 B.C. gets corroboration from any reliable tradition. The date for the new moon at *Antares* in the gauge year can never be taken on a date earlier than December 1 of our time—as it would not be a new moon at *Jyēṣṭhā* (*Antares*).

It has been thus shown that the lunisolar data which have been the bases for finding the year of the Bhārata battle in my work, cannot be by any stretch of imagination considered as later additions in the present *Mahābhārata*—they all belong to the time when the Pāṇḍava saga was first composed, faithfully preserved and transmitted either by memorizing or by writing in an alphabet which has been supplanted by the later and highly scientific current Indian alphabet.

There are some other passages in the great epic, which may be interpreted on this finding that the battle was fought in 2449 B.C. Here is an example, viz.:

Bhīṣma's statement as to the correct termination of the 13 years of the Pāṇḍavas' Exile.—In the *Virāṭaparva*, chapter 52, stanzas 3-5² Bhīṣma's statement on this point runs as follows: 'In every 5 years there happen two

¹ P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, p. 16, also *JRASB. Letters*, Vol. III, p. 113.

² MBh. Text: पञ्चमे पञ्चमे वर्षे द्वौ मासादुपचयितः ॥ २ ॥

एषामभ्यधिका मासाः पञ्च च द्वादशचपाः ।

वर्धीदृशानां वर्षीषामिति मे वर्त्तते मतिः ॥ ४ ॥

सर्वे यथावचरितं व्यदेभिः संप्रतिश्रुतम् ।

एवमेतद् भुवं ज्ञात्वा ततो वैभक्तपुरागतः ॥ ५ ॥

extra lunations. Of the Pāṇḍavas there have been 5 extra lunations and 12 extra days in their period of exile according to my reckoning. All of the conditions have been fulfilled by them according to their promise. Having known this as correct, Arjuna who never does anything wrong has come to this place before us.

Neither the commentator Nilakanṭha nor any one of the later exponents, has been able to explain this mode of reckoning which Bhīṣma has here followed. He says that in the 13 years of the exile there have been 161 lunations and 12 extra days or that the total number of days become 4766. In the lunisolar reckoning according to the Vedāṅgas which follows the same rule in lunisolar adjustment of the quinquennium, the number of days become 4759, which is less by 7 days. If in 8 years there be taken 3 extra lunations, in 12 years there would be $4\frac{1}{2}$ extra lunations plus 11 extra days for one year, the number of days in 13 years become 4752 which is less by 14 days. Hence Bhīṣma's statement has remained a riddle or *Vyāsakūta* as it is styled in the *Mahābhārata*. Here is the solution of the riddle:

As stated before, my finding of the year of the Bhārata battle is 2449 B.C. The exile of the Pāṇḍavas began from some date of the year 2462 B.C., i.e. thirteen years before the year of the fight.

On January 8, 2462 B.C., at G.M.N. or Kurukṣetra mean time 17 hrs. 8 mins. (J.D. = 822185) there were—

True Sun	= 268° 31' 21",
True Moon	= 91° 27' 46",
<i>Regulus</i> or <i>Maghā</i>	= 88° 26' 47".

The full moon happened about 6 hours before, almost exactly conjoined with *Regulus* or *Maghā*. It was thus necessarily followed by the last-quarter conjoined with *Antares* or *Jyēṣṭhā* and the previous new moon took place at about β *Delphinis*. This lunar month of which this was the full moon, was a Vedic standard month of *Māgha*.¹ The sun reached the winter solstice on the 10th January with moon 16·5 or 17 days old roughly.

The next step would be to determine the date of this year 2462 B.C. on which the Pāṇḍavas having lost the stakes at the game of dice went into their exile. In doing this we have to settle the date on which ended the thirteen years of the Pāṇḍavas' exile. It was the day of the battle of Arjuna and the Kauravas on the north of Virāṭa's capital and very nearly the 14th day of the dark half of the lunar month for reasons set forth below.

We have in the *Virāṭaparva*, ch. 30, the stanzas 26-27² which say that Suśarmā, the chief of the Trigartas, started on his expedition to attack Virāṭa's capital from the south on the 8th day of the DARK HALF of the month and the Kauravas started to attack the same city, one day later on the 9th day, from the north.

That the actual fight took place on the north of Virāṭa's capital about 5 days later, would be readily conceded. We have seen that in the year 2462 B.C., the quinquennium was started two days after the full moon of

¹ P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, page 162, also *JRASB. Letters*, Vol. IV, pp. 420-21.

² MBh. Text : प्रतिवैरं चिकीर्षन्तो गोषु गृह्णा सहावलाः ।

आदातुं गाः सुशर्माय कृष्णपत्नीयसप्तमीम् ॥ २६ ॥

अपरे दिवसे सर्वे राजान् समभ्यु कौरवाः ।

अष्टम्यन्तेन गृह्णन्तो गोकुलानि सहस्रशः ॥ २७ ॥

Māgha. Bhīṣma's statement of 12 extra days and 5 extra lunations makes the age of the moon on the day of the encounter as the 14th day of the dark half. It is now necessary to find the lunar month of which the day was the 14th of the dark half.

In the year 2449 B.C. the new moon near *Antares* happened on October 21, the 12th October was a *Puṣyā* day; the 27th day backward was also a *Puṣyā* day. The *Puṣyā* days before 21st October, 2449 B.C., are thus arranged in the series of 9, 36, 63 etc., days in A.P. backward from that date. There must be two *Puṣyā* days between the end of the Pāṇḍava's exile and the new moon at *Antares* on the 21st October, 2449 B.C. The reasons are set forth now:—

On the first *Puṣyā* day, Drupada's priest went to the Kaurava court to claim the restoration of the dominion to the Pāṇḍavas with the capital at *Indraprastha*¹ and the second *Puṣyā* day came about 27 days later while *Kṛṣṇa* was still negotiating for peace at the Kaurava court,² and both the armies marched to and encamped at *Kuruksetra*. Hence from the 14th day of the dark half of the lunar month on which the period of the Pāṇḍava's exile ended we have to count 2 lunations + 2 days or 61 days till October 21 of the year 2449 B.C. Hence the date in question was the 22nd of August, 2449 B.C., on which at G.M.N. or K.M. time of 17 hrs. 8 mins.

$$\begin{aligned}\text{True Sun} &= 127^\circ 14' 31'', \\ \text{True Moon} &= 101^\circ 35' 15''.\end{aligned}$$

Hence, Moon—Sun = $334^\circ 20' 44'' = 12^\circ \times 27 + 10^\circ 20' 44''$. It is thus clear that the 28th *tithi* was current, perhaps also the 28th day from the first visibility of the crescent after the preceding new moon.

Now from the 21st August, 2449 B.C., we count 4766 days backward following Bhīṣma's statement and arrived at the date:—

The 4th August, 2462 B.C. (J.D. 822393), on which at G.M.N. or K.M.T., 17 hrs. 8 mins. we have—

$$\begin{aligned}\text{True Sun} &= 109^\circ 36' 44'', \\ \text{True Moon} &= 307^\circ 13' 55''.\end{aligned}$$

Thus, Moon—Sun = $12^\circ \times 16 + 5^\circ 37' 11''$. Hence the 2nd *tithi* of the dark half of the month had begun from about 12 hrs. before. This date of the 4th August, 2462 B.C., was the day on which the Pāṇḍavas went away on exile.

Now the Julian day No. of the preceding Māgha full moon day = 822185, and the Julian day No. of the date of the Pāṇḍava's exile = 822393. Difference = 208 days.

This period of 208 days comprise 7 lunations + 2 days. Hence the day of the Pāṇḍavas' exile was the 2nd day after the full moon of *Bhādrapada*.

We now set forth how in 13 years, there came to be reckoned 5 extra lunations and 12 extra days. According to the *Jyautiṣa Vedāṅgas* (circa 1429 B.C.), in a quinquennium the second *Aṣāḍha* and the second *Pauṣa* were reckoned as extra months at intervals of 30 lunations and not counted at any other times.³ In the Pāṇḍava times also, we may infer, that the extra or

¹ MBh., *Udyoga*, ch. 6, 17. स भवान् पुष्ययोगेन सुहृतेन जयेन च ।

कौरवेयान् प्रयात्वाश्च कौन्तेयस्यार्थसिद्धये ॥ १७ ॥

² MBh., *Udyoga*, ch. 150, 3. प्रयाध्वं वै कुरुक्षेत्रं पुष्योद्योति पुनः पुनः ।

³ *Yājñaka Jyautiṣa*, 7, साधर्मावर्णयोः सदा, and also in the 9th stanza of the same work the statement of the *tithis* of the 1st *ayana* days of the ten courses of the quinquennium is as 1, 7, 13, 4, 10, 1, 7, 13, 4 and 10. The sixth figure 1, shows the first *tithi* of *Srāvaṇa*.

additive months were only (1) the full moon ending *Śrāvaṇa* and (2) the full moon ending *Māgha* at intervals of 30 lunations, and that such extra months were not reckoned at any other times. The five-year-long cycle in this particular case was started from January 10, 2462 B.C. The first day of the sun's northerly course, and extra months were added at intervals of 30 lunations.

Now on the 4th of August, 2462 B.C., seven months of the quinquennium were already over, thus:—

After 23	lunations, there was reckoned	one extra lunation	(1)
and „ 54(24+30)	„ „ „	one „ „	(2)
„ „ 85(55+30)	„ „ „	one „ „	(3)
„ „ 116(86+30)	„ „ „	one „ „	(4)
„ „ 147(117+30)	„ „ „	one „ „	(5)
„ in 13 lunations ¹	there were reckoned 12 extra days		(α)

Thus in 161 (= 148+13) lunations and 12 extra days, there were reckoned 5 extra lunations and 12 extra days.

Hence Bhīṣma's reckoning of 13 years was not done by any direct method of calculation, but was based on the SPECIAL CIVIL CALENDAR made in the year of the Pāṇḍava's exile, and was as old as the Pāṇḍava time. It is very likely that settling the day or days for the *Rājasūya* sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira, was the occasion for the finding of the winter solstice day of the year 2462 B.C. and the great sacrifice was finished two lunations and two days later from January 10, 2462 B.C., on the first day of Indian spring.

We may therefore conclude that the *Mahābhārata* in spite of many interpolations in it by later writers, contains solid bed-rock of truth of the really true events, from which the data carefully selected should lead to the correct dates of the events of the Pāṇḍava time, and my finding of the date of the Bhārata battle must be accepted as correct. It is thus clearly established that the *Mahābhārata* as basis for chronological finding, when the selection is made by avoiding the doubtful statements, is thoroughly trustworthy from the view-point of real history. The question that remains to be answered is how the *Mahābhārata* and the *Vedas* have been transmitted through millennia of years.

Transmission through Millennia of years of the Mahābhārata and the Vedic Literature

The method by which the real history of the Pāṇḍavas has been transmitted through centuries and millennia of years must be either pure oral transmission by a special class of memorizers called *sūtas*, helped probably by means of writing with some pre-Devanāgarī script. This script in course of years, got supplanted by the Devanāgarī or Brāhmī alphabet and script. In the Mohenjo Daro finds there is evidence of a script which is different from the Devanāgarī or the Brāhmī script, although these inscriptions have not been as yet satisfactorily deciphered. There were several classes of memorizers, one class specialized in memorizing the *Mahābhārata*, one class in memorizing the *Vedas* including the *Samhitās*, and *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Āraṇyakas*; they were the *Śrautins*, a class which still exists. By thus dividing these duties it may be conceded that a correct verbal transmission was made possible. Although the present Brāhmī alphabet and script may be taken to have been invented about 1000² B.C. The possibility of some

¹ The extra days in 13 lunations becomes $12\frac{17}{60}$, here the fraction has been omitted.

² P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, page 207.

other form of script being used in the preservation and transmission of the Vedas and the *Mahābhārata* saga cannot thus be altogether ruled out.

Prof. K. C. Chattopādhyāya of the Allahabad University who holds that writing was known in the Vedic period, points out the following *ṛc* as evidence from the *Rgveda* itself.

'One (man) indeed seeing speech has not seen her, another (man) hearing her has not heard her, but to another she delivers her person as a loving wife well-attired presents herself to her husband.'¹

From these considerations my view-point is that the present *Mahābhārata*, in spite of all lies and interpolations relating to omens, summaries, etc., made into it by the later redactors, has faithfully preserved those references on which I have based the finding of the year of the Bhārata battle. The references which I have examined in this paper, must be as old as the Pāṇḍava time. They are: (1) an observational result which could not be interpolated by using any of the ancient systems of Indian astronomy and perhaps not even by using the *Syntaxis* of Ptolemy, (2) Bhīṣma's rule for settling the duration of the Pāṇḍava's exile for 13 years, which is in thorough agreement with my finding of the date of the Bhārata battle, and which cannot be explained under any of the ancient or modern systems of reckoning. I now turn to—

Vedic Data for Vedic Antiquity

Of the *Rgveda* there are no variant reading as it is current in the whole of India—a fact which is in a marked contrast to the *Mahābhārata*, which has many recensions with many later additions. Hence the *Rgveda* is the most reliable work for the determination of Vedic antiquity. In my work, *Ancient Indian Chronology* not only the *Rgveda*, but also the *Atharva Veda* has been used to establish some of the dates. Whitney's translation of the latter work which shows the variant readings has been utilized in the research. Hence there can be no fault as to the Vedic texts used in finding the Vedic dates. As to their interpretation some differences have had to be made with the commentators whenever they confounded the whole issue by their mistakes.

In the work, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, in ascertaining the Vedic antiquity no less than ten chapters have been devoted; in six of them the superior limit to the Vedic culture has been established at 4000 B.C. These are the Chapters IV, V, VII, VIII, IX and XI. The dates arrived at in Chapters X, XII and in Chapter XIII one or two dates from the references, have converged to a Vedic antiquity of about 3000 B.C. The date of 3243 B.C. has been arrived at in Chapter XII, where the *Brāhmaṇa* text speaks of the birth of Paśupati or Śiva as a god in the Vedic or Hindu pantheon, and Prajāpati or Brahmā is condemned by giving him a bad name by the Vedic people. In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* also it is stated that Śiva or Mahādeva had no share of the sacrificial portions before, and of the punishment which Śiva meted out to Dakṣa for not inviting or invoking him at the latter's Vedic sacrifice. How and when the Vedic gods Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, etc., were gradually cast off and Śiva was accepted as a god is a matter for research in the religious history of the Vedic peoples. The date about 3243 B.C. appears to the present author as the date when the

¹ उतलिः प्रश्यन्नददर्श वाचसुतलः शृण्वन्नशृणोत्येनाम् ।

उतोल स्मे तनवं विससे जायेव पत्युःशरते सुवासाः ॥ M. X. 71, 4. cf. *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 47ff.

influence of the Mohenjo Daro civilization prevailed over the Vedic religion and its ideals. In the R̥gveda we get the mention of the Śiśnadevas or Phallic worshippers in two places, viz. (1) in M. VII, 21, 5 and (2) in M. X, 99, 3. The second reference speaks of a fight between the Vedic Aryans and the Śiśnadevas in which the latter were defeated and their city was destroyed. It is likely that the Vedic Aryans came from the north earlier and settled in Gandhara (Kandahar) and the north Punjab and the Mohenjo Daro people came by sea and built their cities in Sind and the South Punjab. Again the destruction of *Sambharpurī* by Kṛṣṇa about 2462 B.C. described in the *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, Chapters 13-22, may really mean the destruction of a city of the Mohenjo Daro people. The two peoples lived side by side in peace for a long time and the conflict came much later is my considered opinion on this point. The lower limit to the truly Vedic antiquity has been shown in my work¹ as about 2444 B.C. almost the same as the year of the Bhārata battle. The real Vedic period thus extends from 4000 to 2450 B.C. Before me the same superior limit to the Vedic antiquity was obtained both by Tilak and Jacobi.

Max Müller and Winternitz on Vedic Antiquity

We now take up the estimates of Max Müller and Winternitz as to the Vedic antiquity. Both of them formulated their estimates on the basis that Buddhism presupposes the existence of the whole *Veda*, i.e. the hymns, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*. The former conjectures that the Vedas were developed between 1200 and 1000 B.C., and the latter from the same basis, ascribes the superior limit to the Vedic antiquity as about 2500 to 2000 B.C. These are mere guess works and they could not discern anything better from the Vedas for any scientific determination of the Vedic periods. 'Max Müller considered his date of 1200-1000 B.C. only as a *terminus adquem* and in his Gifford Lectures on "Physical Religion" in 1889, he expressly states, "that we cannot hope to fix a *terminus a quo*. Whether the Vedic hymns were composed 1000 or 1500 or 2000 or 3000 B.C. no power on earth will ever determine". It is remarkable, however, how strong the power of suggestion is even in science. *Max Müller's hypothetical and really purely arbitrary determination of the Vedic epochs in the course of years, received more and more the dignity and the character of a scientifically proved fact, without any arguments or actual facts having been added.*'—Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 293 et seqq. (Cal. Univ. Edn.).

We can only imagine that Max Müller was led by the idea that the *Vedāṅga* statement of the position of the solstices, viz. the summer solstice at the middle of the *Āśleṣā* division and the winter solstice at the beginning of the *Dhanisthā* division was the oldest traditional statement indicating limit of the Hindu cultural antiquity at 1400 to 1200 B.C. Winternitz could not go beyond the age when the vernal equinox was at the *Kṛttikās* (Pleiades) and the summer solstice at *Maghā* (*Regulus*) true for about 2500 to 2200 B.C. Winternitz has failed to get at the true import of the *Mahābhārata* statement—*Rohiṇī hyabhat pūrvam* or that *Rohiṇī* was the first star² (circa 3000 B.C.) and also of the statement in the Atharva Veda that the line of Parameśthin³ passed through the star *Aja-ekapat* (α Pegasi), the 'one-footed goat'—(circa 4000 B.C.), as Whitney literally

¹ *Ancient Indian Chronology*, Introduction, page xxvii.

² P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, page 16, quotation from the *Mahābhārata*.

³ *Ibid.*, page 94; quotation from the *Atharva Veda*.

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translates it. It was the translator of the *Atharva Veda* who first discovered that the *Atharva Veda* speaks of the heliacal rising of the λ and ν *Scorpionis*, and could even estimate the season when they became visible, but it is a pity that he could not get at its chronological significance. This has been shown in Chapter X of my work, *Ancient Indian Chronology*.

In my work, the data from the *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Śrauta sūtras* and the *Mahābhārata* have been most carefully selected; the methods of arriving at the Vedic and post-Vedic dates have been thoroughly scientific while Max Müller and Winternitz's estimates are mere conjectures. If the readers of my work can free themselves from the fallacy of *argumentum ad verecundiam*, they should readily accept my findings. Those who are scholars in Sanskrit literature but not astronomers can perhaps recognize the validity of my data. Once this is recognized the chronological findings should be readily accepted.

Similarly, the findings of the dates of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Śrauta sūtras* are also scientifically correct, they cannot be compared to and judged by the rough estimates of the biassed orientalists, who could not and cannot understand the astronomical references contained in these works, and their significance. We look for truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

As to the date of Kālidāsa, one reviewer is inclined to take Kālidāsa as prior to Vatsbhaddi, the poet of the Mandasor inscription, because the similies and ideas are of the same type. The conclusion may be the reverse of that. It seems a wrong idea that all the similies in Kālidāsa are original. The more natural hypothesis would be that these similarities indicate that these were the usual modes of expression of ideas in Sanskrit literature. Even the *Gītā* says that spring is the season of flowers, 'rtūnān kusumā-karaḥ'. In the modern *Rāmāyaṇa*, the poet describes the limpid waters of the Tamasā as pure as the mind of a righteous man. We have in Varāha's *Brhat Samhita* a very similar expression: 'minds of righteous men as pure as the waters of autumn'. Here no orientalist would make the assumption that the poet of the modern *Rāmāyaṇa* was later than Varāha.

The same reviewer has ended his review by saying: why I took the trouble of reconsidering the Gupta era when Keilhorn had done all that was necessary before me. If this had been the case Prof. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar would not have sought my assistance in settling the date of the Gupta inscription Nos. XI and XII on pp. 259-61 of my work. The reviewer has admitted, however, that 'Mr. Gupta has rendered a service in the matter by explaining a discrepancy of one year which sometimes occurs in the interpretation of the Gupta inscriptions'. My aim chiefly was to put a stop to all attempts at identifying the Gupta era with the Samvat or the Malvā era. He has again admitted that I have done some service in the matter of calendar reckoning in the Gupta period. But he has missed the important point I have settled as to the Jovial years in the Gupta inscriptions, which are to be interpreted according to the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, Chapter XIV, 16-17, known by the name *Kārtikādi* years. By this discovery, the zero year has been shifted from the dubious 319-21 A.D. to the rational year of 319 or 319-20 A.D. That the Gupta and the Velabhi eras are the same was known to Alberuni. Neither myself nor Keilhorn can claim any originality here.

As I conclude the defence of findings published in the several papers in the *JRASB. Letters* and in my work *Ancient Indian Chronology*, I would say that attacks upon my researches are not unwelcome. With Kālidāsa I may say, 'Hemnaḥ saṃlakṣyate hyaṇau viśuddhiḥ syāṃkāvīpā'. Of gold, purity or otherwise is tested by fire.

APPENDIX

A Note on the Variation of Lunar Months in the Vedic Period

That the variation in the reckoning of the lunar months from full moon ending to new moon ending and *vice versa* happened in the Vedic period at very short intervals, is evidenced by the following passage from the *Taittirīya Brahmana*, K.I., p. 8, Anu. 10, 2 thus:

‘Paurṇamāsyaṁ pūrvamaharbhavati, Vyastakāyāṁ uttarāṁ. Nānāvārdhamāsayaḥ pratitiṣṭhati. Amāvasyāyāṁ pūrvamaharbhavati, uddrṣṭe uttaram. Nānaiva māsayaḥ pratitiṣṭhati.’

This may thus be translated:

‘The full moon day becomes the first day, or the last quarter of the new moon ending Māgha becomes the next day. The half months are also established in various ways. The first day becomes the new moon day and the next day, the day of the first visibility of the crescent. Various also are the ways in which the two sorts of lunar months are established.’

The nature of the day, half month, and the lunar month all depended on the lunar phase on the previously observed winter solstice day. In the year 2462 B.C. on January 8, the Māgha full moon happened, and the first day of the sun's northerly course began on January 11 with the age of the moon about 3 days. The months became full moon ending no doubt, but the reckoning of the months was from the 3rd day of the dark half to the 2nd day next dark half month and continued so on till the next determination by observation of the lunar phase of the winter solstice day. A corresponding reckoning of the half months necessarily followed. In reckoning the full moon ending months, sometimes the first day of the sun's northerly course became the last quarter of Māgha or *Vyastakā*, as on January 10, 2448 B.C. (vide *A.I. Chronology*, p. 19). In this case the half months came to be reckoned from one Aṣṭakā (last quarter) to the next first quarter, thence to the next Aṣṭakā (last quarter) for half months. With regard to the lunar months they were reckoned from one Aṣṭakā to the next.

As examples, we have the full moon reckoning started from January 10, 2454 B.C., as the first day of the sun's northerly course; the last quarter of Māgha in 6 years fell on the Vyastaka on January 10, 2448 B.C.

Again in the year 2450 B.C., January 10, was both a new moon and winter solstice day. The sun came to the winter turning point at 3 a.m. and the new moon happened about 8 p.m. The months became new moon ending in the year 2450 to 2448 B.C., but the first day of the sun's northerly course came to be reckoned from the first visibility of the crescent. This also shows why in the *Mahābhārata* references used by me for the determination of the Bhārata battle should be interpreted in terms of the new moon ending lunar months.

We have seen that the full moon reckoning of lunar months from January 10, 2454 B.C. was changed into new moon ending reckoning on January 10, 2450 B.C. This change is readily seen from the following consideration:

It has been shown that in 8 years, there are 107 sidereal months and consequently 99 lunations, vide page 16, *Ancient Indian Chronology*. Thus in four years there would be 49.5 lunations = 1461.74 days and in 4 years there are 1461 days. Thus in four years the nature of the lunar months is quite liable to be changed from the full moon ending to the new moon ending and *vice versa*, when observational methods are employed in finding the winter solstice days.

UN-PĀNINIAN SANDHI IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA¹

By NILMA DHAB SEN, M.A., *Professor of Sanskrit, Maharaja Bir Bikram College, Agartala, Tripura*

(Communicated by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee)

(Received September 2, 1949)

Note.—The following editions of the Rāmāyaṇa have mainly been used in the preparation of this paper:—

- (1) The edition published by the Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, in pothi-form in the Śaka era 1848. (By.)
- (2) The edition published by R. Nārāyaṇasvāmī from Madras in 1933 A.D. (M.)
- (3) The edition published by T. R. Krishṇācārya. (K.)

Besides these, a few other editions have also been consulted.

If not mentioned otherwise, the references to the cantos and ślokaś are given after the Bombay edition.

Sandhi or euphonic combination in Sanskrit, based mainly on the principle of avoidance of hiatus and laws of assimilation, whether progressive, regressive or mutual, is classified by the native grammarians under three heads, viz. vowel, consonant and visarjaniya, according as the final sound of the first word in the combination (and also the initial sound of the second word in the case of vowel sandhi) is a vowel or a consonant or a visarjaniya. The consonant sandhi in the Rā., however, does not show, excepting two or three cases, any noteworthy feature differing from the norms laid down by the great grammarian Pāṇini about 450 B.C.; and it is remarkable that the Mbh. also shows no, or hardly any, case of un-Pāṇinian consonant sandhi. Excepting a large number of cases of hiatus and a few cases of 'double sandhi' and other sporadic un-Pāṇinian forms, which will be noted below, the vowel sandhi also in the Rā. generally conforms to the types sanctioned by Pāṇini. But the visarjaniya sandhi in the Rā., as also in the Mbh., shows quite a good number of cases of double sandhi and other un-Pāṇinian forms.

A comparison of the un-Pāṇinian sandhi-forms in the Rā. with those in the Mbh. reveals the fact that almost all the different types occur in both the epics; the only difference, if it can be called a difference at all, lies in the fact that while the cases of un-Pāṇinian sandhi are quite large in number in the Mbh., they are not so in the Rā. This is probably due to the fact that the Rā. is more an ornate epic than the Mbh.; and although

¹ The publication of the critical edition of the Mbh. by the Bhāṇḍārkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has given a fresh impetus to the study of the epic forms and the usages in the Mbh., and a band of Marathi scholars are studying the same from different points of view. But apart from a few isolated papers, notably that of Dr. Michelson, no systematic and comprehensive work has yet been done on the language of the Rā., and the present paper is the first outcome of my detailed study on the epic linguistic forms of the Rā. Dr. Kulkarni's papers on the un-Pāṇinian forms and usages in the Mbh. have greatly helped me in comparing them with similar forms in the Rā.

sandhi was quite flexible in the epic, as in the Vedic, period, the poet of the genuine portions of the Rā. did not take too much license with it, and it is noteworthy that the largest number of cases of un-Pāṇinian sandhi occur in the first and the last books.

A few types of un-Pāṇinian sandhi in the epics show a close affinity with Pāli; but it would be unwarranted to think that such forms in the epics are entirely due to Pāli influence, for most of these types occur in the Vedic language as well; and it must be assumed that they were quite common in the older dialects from which were derived Epic Sanskrit on the one hand and Pāli on the other, although it may be true that direct Pāli influence can be found in a few sporadic cases.

Below is given a complete and systematically arranged list of all the cases of un-Pāṇinian sandhi occurring in the Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay Recension).

1. IRREGULAR VOWEL SANDHI

As already said before, cases of irregular vowel sandhi, apart from those of hiatus, are not numerous in the Rāmāyaṇa. They, however, may be broadly divided into four classes, viz. (a) double sandhi, (b) sandhi of Pragrhya vowels, (c) irregular loss of ā after -e, and (d) miscellaneous.

(a) Double Sandhi

Only ten cases of irregular double sandhi of vowels are found in the Rā. It is to be noted here, as also in the Mbh. (the first five books containing seven such cases), that the first word always ends in -e and excepting once the second word is 'iti'. All the cases in the Rā. are *metri causa* for avoiding hypermetrical foot. Examples are:—

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|----|---|
| i.21. 8 | .. | pratiśrutya kariṣyēti (M., samśrutyaivam kariṣyāmi). (Cf. kariṣyēti—Mbh., v. 105. 8.) |
| M., By., ii. 37. 34 | .. | na ciram asyāḥ pravridhiyatēti. |
| M., By., iii. 60. 35 | .. | hā Sitēti punaḥ punaḥ. |
| iii. 61. 29 (M., 30) | .. | hā priyēti vicukrośa. |
| M., By., iii. 69. 14 | .. | chi raṁsyāvahēty uktvā. |
| M., By., iv. 6. 17 | .. | hā priyēti rudan. |
| M., By., v. 25. 11 | .. | hā Sumitrēti bhāmini. |
| M., By., v. 36. 45 | .. | bahuśo hā priyēty evam. |
| vi. 103. 65 (M., vi. 104. 27) | .. | yugāntōlkeva saprabhā (< yugānte+ulkeva). |
| vii. 96. 13 (M., 14) | .. | sādhu Sitēti cāpare. |

(b) Irregular Sandhi of Pragrhya Vowels

Certain final vowels which do not combine with the following vowel are termed as Pragrhya by the Sanskrit grammarians. Such vowels in Classical Sanskrit are: (1) the vowels ī, ū, e as both declensional and conjugational endings of the dual number, (2) the nom., accu. dual and the masc. nom. pl. of the pronoun *adas* (i.e. amū and amī), (3) 'the final o made by the combination of a final or an only vowel with the particle u', e.g. atho, uto, etc., (4) 'the final or only vowel of an interjection', e.g. aho, he, etc., and (5) the pluta (protracted) accent.

The treatment of Pragrhya vowels is quite anomalous in the RV., for sandhi in the RV. depends entirely on metre, and as such Pragrhya vowels on many occasions enter into sandhi in the RV. *metri causa*, while for the same reason many non-Pragrhya vowels do not coalesce with the following vowel. Though in several instances the contraction of the so-called

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Pragṛhya vowels is not shown in our text of the RV., still, as the metre shows, it must be pronounced as such. But already in the later Vedic period the special character (i.e. non-contraction) of the Pragṛhya vowels gradually came to be fixed (and finally Pāṇini prohibited their contraction with the following vowel for Classical Sanskrit). It is, therefore, not surprising that irregular sandhi of Pragṛhya vowel is very rare in the epics.

While comparing and contrasting the language of the Rā. with that of the Mbh., Dr. Michelson (JAOS, vol. 25, pp. 89ff.) remarked that contraction of the Pragṛhya vowel is unknown in the Mbh. This is entirely wrong. The critical edition of the Mbh. contains no less than 11 cases of contraction of Pragṛhya vowels in the first five books alone—a number which is much higher than that found in the entire Rā. Out of six such cases in the Rā., four are with the interjection *aho* (but twice only in the first five books of the Mbh.), one is with a nominal formation and another with a verbal formation.

M., By., ii. 3. 2	..	ahô' smi paramapritāḥ.
iii. 58. 17	..	ahô' smi vyasane magnāḥ (M., aho'smin°.)
M., By., vi. 98. 1	..	sarasīva mahāgharme.
vii. 27. 7	..	ahô' tiblavād rakṣo (M., asau hi°.)
M., By., vii. 30. 3	..	ahô' sya vikramaudāryam. (Cf. Mbh., III. 40. 29, ahô' yam.)
M., By., vii. 102. 15	..	na jajñātē' tidhārmikau. (Cf. Mbh., i. 57. 88, jajñātē'straviśāradau.)

•(c) Irregular Elision of ā after -e

There are a few instances in the Rā. in which the vowel ā is irregularly dropped after -e just as the vowel *a* drops after -e. This type of irregular vowel sandhi occurs in the Mbh. also where it is very common, occurring at least 12 times in the first five books. Dr. Michelson (*op. cit.*) gives a very rational explanation of this type of irregular sandhi; first, the vowel ā irregularly becomes ä—as in Pāli and Prākṛit—before two consonants and then the regular sandhi between -e+ā takes place. These cases are on a par with those instances in which the combination -as+ā results in o. Examples in the Rā. are:—

{ vi. 73. 26 ..	..	khe' ntardadhē' tmānam anantavīryaḥ. (Cf.
{ M., vi. 73. 29	..	Mbh., amalē'tmānam, i. 68. 64; manyatē'-tmānam, i. 198. 19.)
M., By., vii. 34. 2	..	yuddhē'hvayāi darpitāḥ.
vii. 67. 13 ..	..	na tē' jñām kurute' naghā (M., nājñām te). (Cf. Mbh., sthāsyāmi tē'jñayā, i. 70. 41; gaccha tē' jñām, iii. 158. 58.)

It may be mentioned in this connection that attempts have been made to explain these forms in the Rā. in another way. Thus it is held that in the above instances tmānam (a Vedic variant for ātmānam), hvayati (without upasarga) and jñām (a supposed variant for ājñām) should be substituted for ātmānam, āhvayati and ājñām respectively. But occurrences of such cases in the Mbh. as garte' rtāms trānam (i. 45. 5), vavrire' ṅgirasam (i. 71. 6), paryāvarte' śramāya (iii. 113. 5), te' stike (i. 53. 18), etc. render such an explanation highly implausible.

(d) Miscellaneous

A sporadic instance of irregular sandhi between -i+ā is found in the word Triyambaka, vii. 46. 21. This is probably a phonetic spelling for

the regular Tryambaka. This irregular form is sometimes found in Classical Sanskrit also (cf. Kālidāsa: Triyambakam saṃyaminam dadarśa) and the regular form is found already once in the RV., vii. 59. 12, where, however, it should *metri causa* be pronounced as Triambaka. The regular form Tryambaka is found elsewhere in the Rā. also, e.g. i. 75. 12, vi. 94. 38. The irregular form Triyambaka is found for the first time in the Kapiṣṭhala, viii. 10.

2. IRREGULAR CONSONANT SANDHI

As already mentioned above, there are only two definite and one uncertain cases of irregular consonant sandhi in the Rā. In two instances the final sound is -n; in one case, final -n of the first member of the combination has been irregularly doubled, while in another case it has not been doubled, although it should have been so. The first instance seems to be copyist's slip and the second one is *metri causa*. In the third instance there is irregular sandhi with 'ahar' not only for avoiding a hypermetrical foot in the verse, but also for avoiding three consecutive short syllables. (See also Great Epic of India, page 256.)

- M., By., i. 63. 21 .. yadi me bhagavānnāha (variant: bhagavān āha in T. R. Krishṇācārya's, Śrīraṅgam and an old Grantha editions).
 vii. 36. 44 (M., 45) .. grantham mahad dhārayan aprameyaḥ.
 M., By., iv. 35. 7 .. aho' manyata dharmātmā (for ahar amanyat).

3. IRREGULAR VISARJANIYA SANDHI

Irregular visarjaniya sandhi in the Rā. can broadly be classified under three heads, viz. (a) double crasis, (b) combination of -as + ā resulting in o, and (c) miscellaneous.

(a) Double Crasis after Elision of Visarjaniya

The most elementary rule of visarga-sandhi is that a visarjaniya (-s) preceded by *a* is dropped if it is followed by any vowel other than *a* (in which case the whole combination is changed to o); it is also dropped when it is preceded by ā and followed by any vowel whatsoever; the two vowels thus brought together by the elision of -s do not, however, coalesce and the resultant hiatus remains in tact. But in quite a large number of cases in the Rā., as also in the Mbh., we find that the hiatus is avoided by the un-Pāṇinian double sandhi. Dr. Michelson (*op. cit.*) regarded this type of double sandhi as 'true Vedic archaism'. If by the term 'Vedic archaism' he means, as he probably does, that such forms were current only in the Vedic language, and died out in the epic period, but nonetheless were incorporated in the epics by mere imitation of the older language, he is palpably wrong. Instances of double sandhi after elision of -s are found in the RV. in which *sah* almost invariably coalesces with the following vowel; the tendency to double sandhi increased already in the AV. period, the Kāśhmīr recension of the AV. showing a great number of such cases, and it continued to be so in the living and popular Sanskrit of the later (epic) period—as also in Pāli—until it was finally prohibited for Classical Sanskrit for all times to come by Pāṇini. (See also Keith, JRAS, 1910, pp. 1321ff.)

Double sandhi on many occasions occurs no doubt, *metri causa*, but it could have been easily avoided in many other cases, e.g. i. 58. 4, ii. 51. 8, vi. 84. 6, vi. 96. 9, etc., and this non-avoidance conclusively proves that double sandhi was not only a Vedic feature, but an epic characteristic as

well. Attempts, however, were made later on to regularize these, as also the cases of irregular hiatus (see below), by many ingenious devices, e.g. change of syntactical order, substitutions by synonyms, insertion of particles, etc.

Instances of double sandhi after elision of visarga in the Rā. are:—

(i) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *a* and followed by *ā*.—Four such cases occur in the Rā., whereas in the Mbh. such combination either results in *o* or shows the regular form. All the examples in the Rā. are *metri causa* for avoiding hypermetrical foot.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|----|---|
| i. 29. 12 .. | .. | tapomūrtim tapātmakam (M., tapodhanam). |
| M., By., i. 62. 13 .. | .. | Madhucchandādayaḥ sutāḥ. |
| vii. 3. 33 (M., 34) .. | .. | Laṅkāyām Viśravātmajaḥ. |
| vii. 11. 29 (M., 30) .. | .. | sāmpratam Viśravātmajaḥ. |

(ii) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *a* and followed by *i*.—Only nine cases of this type of double sandhi are found in the Rā., whereas the Mbh. contains quite a large number of similar cases of sandhi. All the instances in the Rā. are *metri causa*.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|----|--|
| M., By., iii. 42. 1 .. | .. | gacchāvēty abravīd dīno. (This may be a case of secondary ending used for the primary one.) |
| M., By., iii. 47. 11 .. | .. | Rāmēti prathito loke. |
| iv. 52. 13 .. | .. | sādhv atra pravīśāmēti. (This may be a case of secondary ending used for the primary one.) |
| vii. 5. 14 (M., 15) .. | .. | prabhaviṣṇvo bhavāmēti. (This also may be a case of secondary ending used for the primary one; variant: bhavema prabhaviṣṇavaḥ.) |
| vii. 36. 47 (M., 49) .. | .. | eṣēva cānye ca manākapīndrāḥ. |
| vii. 66. 8 .. | .. | Lavēti ca sa nāmataḥ (M., Lava ity'eva). |
| M., By., vii. 79. 15 .. | .. | nāma tasya ca Daṇḍēti. |
| vii. 93. 17 (M., 18) .. | .. | tathaiva karavāvēti. (This also may be a case of secondary ending used for the primary one.) And also |
| vii. 36. 42 .. | .. | siṅhaḥ kuñjararuddhēva (a variant cited by Rāma for 'ruddho vā). |

Cases like hā Rāmamātēti (ii. 40. 38), hā bhartēti (ii. 65. 23) do not seem to be cases of double sandhi, but of irregular inflexion, and will be treated under Morphology.

(iii) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *a* and followed by *u*.—Under this head falls the largest number of cases of double crasis and in most of the instances the second member is a conjugated form of the root *brū* or *vac*. Such cases in the Mbh., however, are surprisingly rare. All the instances in the Rā. are *metri causa* for avoiding hypermetrical foot.

- | | | |
|---------------|----|---|
| i. 9. 21 .. | .. | yenopāyena sōcyatām (vistareṇa tṛayocyatām—variant of the commentary Śrōmaṇi). |
| i. 19. 21 .. | .. | labdhasamjñas tatōtthāya (K. and Śrīraṅgam—śokam abhyāgamat tivrām; M. tatōtthāya). |
| i. 39. 11 .. | .. | sōpādhyāyavacaḥ śrutvā (M., upādhyāyavacaḥ). |
| i. 58. 4 .. | .. | aśakyam iti sōvāca (M., iti covāca). |
| ii. 4. 17 .. | .. | sanirghātā divōlkās ca (M., maholkās ca). |
| ii. 16. 31 .. | .. | Rāghavōjjvalitaḥ śrīyā (variant cited by Rāma for Rāghavo jvalitaḥ). |
| ii. 51. 8 .. | .. | Lakṣmaṇas tu tatōvāca (M., tadōvāca). |
| ii. 67. 26 .. | .. | samvadantōpatiṣṭhante (M., vadanto vatiṣṭhante). |

- ii. 87. 15 .. bahuśôpahrtam mayā (M., bahu copahrtam mayā).
- iii. 66. 17 .. tvam eva bahuśôkt.vān (M., bahuśo' nvaśāh).
- v. 10. 12 .. sôpāsarpāt subhītavat (M., so' pāsarpāt). (The M.-reading seems to be the correct one.)
- v. 51. 40 .. yakṣarakṣôrageṣu ca. (This may be a case of transfer of stem after the analogy of the preceding word yakṣa; variant in M.: rakṣo-gaṇeṣu ca.)
- v. 54. 36 (M., 38) .. rakṣôpasamhāarakarah prakopah. (This also may be a case of transfer of stem.)
- vi. 4. 96 .. toyaughaissarasôththitaiḥ (M., 99, sahasotthitaiḥ).
- vi. 62. 9 .. punah sa muditôtpatya (M., utpatya caivam mudito).
- M., By., vi. 84. 6 .. Lakṣmaṇôvāca mandārtham.
- vi. 96. 9 .. tatôvāca prahasyaitān (M., athovāca).
- vi. 98. 18 .. sôpaplutya mahārathāt (M., so' vaplutya).
- M., By., vii. 4. 31 .. sadyôpalabdhir garbhasya.
- vii. 5. 8 (M., 9) .. vyādhayôpekṣitā iva.
- vii. 11. 37 (M., 38) .. bahuśôktah sudurmatih.
- vii. 15. 34 (M., 38) .. Dhanadôcchvāsitas tais tu.
- vii. 32. 69 .. sôtsasarja tadā raṇe (M., 70, hy utsasarja).
- vii. 33. 13 (M., 14) .. Pulastyôvāca rājānam.
- M., By., vii. 35. 43 .. śrutv endrôvāca mā bhaiṣih.
- vii. 42. 21 .. apsarôragasamghaṣ ca. (This also may be a case of transfer of stem, for apsaras on many occasions is treated as apsarā.)

(iv) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *a* and followed by *e*.—Only two words, saḥ and eṣaḥ, enter into double sandhi with *e* following. The instances are:—

- vi. 26. 23 (M., 24) .. eṣaivāśamsate Laṅkām.
- vi. 26. 28 .. Do. (M., 30, eṣo' py āśamsate).
- vi. 26. 48 .. Do.
- vi. 27. 24 (M., 25) .. Do.
- vi. 27. 45 (M., 46) .. Do.
- vi. 28. 25 (M., 26) .. eṣaivāśamsate yuddhe.
- vi. 61. 9 .. saīṣa Viśravasah putraḥ.

A rather peculiar feature of the above instances is that all of them occur in Book vi alone and the sentence, eṣaivāśamsate Laṅkām, is repeated five times.

M., By., vi. 24. 21, śikharair vikirāmainām is perhaps an instance of the use of secondary ending -ma for the primary -mas.

(v) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *a* and followed by *o*.—Only two cases of this type of sandhi occur in the Rāmāyaṇa:—

- v. 60. 10 .. jītvā Laṅkām sarakṣaughām.
- vii. 36. 35 (M., 36) .. tatas tu hrtatejaujāḥ.

(vi) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *ā* and followed by *a*.—It is to be noted here that in six cases out of a total of 19, the second member

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of the combination is abhavan (°t). The ratio of the occurrences of abhavan (°t) is much higher in the Mbh. (23 : 16 in the first five books).

M., By., i. 14. 24	..	kāñcanālamkṛtābhavan.
i. 20. 3	..	yasyāham (< yasyāḥ + aham)
M., By., ii. 20. 37	..	aprajāsmīti santāpā. (It may be that in this case the samāsānta suffix -as has not been added to the word prajā.)
M., By., ii. 46. 17	..	Tamasāyāvidūrataḥ (for °sāyā avidūrataḥ).
iii. 56. 27	..	darpam asyāpanesyantū (for asyā, apanesyantū, M. reads: asyā vineṣyadhvam).
iii. 69. 11	..	daryās tasyāvidūrataḥ (for °tasyā avidūrataḥ).
M., By., iv. 60. 8	..	yasminn ugratapābhavat.
M., By., iv. 66. 8	..	apsarāpsarasām śreṣṭhā. (This may be a case of transfer of stem.)
v. 14. 12	..	diśāḥ sarvābhidhāvantam (M., sarvāḥ pradhāvantam).
v. 38. 13	..	Mandākinyāvidūrataḥ (for °nyā avi°; M., °nyā hy adūrataḥ).
M., By., v. 45. 2	..	kṛtāstrāstravidām śreṣṭhā (for kṛtāstrā astra°).
v. 57. 41 (M., 40)	..	muditā vānarābhavan.
vi. 71. 20	..	tūnāsyā ratham āsthitāḥ (for tūnā asya; M., tūno'sya).
vi. 93. 19 (M., 21)	..	Vaidehyārocayad vadham. (This may be explained otherwise by taking rocayad as an augmentless impf. form.)
vi. 96. 40	..	te tu hr̥ṣṭābhinardanto (M., vi. 96. 37, hr̥ṣṭā vinardanto).
M., By., vii. 7. 12	..	vimadāḥ kunjarābhavan.
M., By., vii. 23. 6	..	°labdhavarāvasan. (vasan may be unaugmented impf.)
M., By., vii. 36. 6	..	tāḥ prajā muditābhavan.
vii. 87. 13	..	te sarve strijanābhavan (M., te' bhavaṁs strijanās tadā).

All the cases of sandhi with abhavan (°t) may otherwise be explained by taking this word as an augmentless impf. form, i.e. bhavan (°t).

(vii) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by ā and followed by ā.—There is only one instance under this head, e.g.

ii. 74. 13	..	Kausalyāyātmasambhavam (M., Kausalyāta-sambhavam).
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(vii) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by ā and followed by r.—Only one such case is found in the Rā., whereas no such case is found in the first five books of the Mbh.

vi. 41. 51	..	prtanār̥kṣavanaukasām (for prtanā r̥kṣa°; M. reads: prthag r̥kṣa°).
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There is no instance of double sandhi of -ās with any other vowel than those cited above, and there is no instance of double sandhi of -s preceded by ī, ū, e, etc.

There are, however, a few instances, e.g. giriva (vii. 7. 2), yajñavibhūti-gam (vii. 65. 8), kālarātriṣa (vi. 44. 16), which at first seem to be cases of double sandhi after irregular loss of visarga; but probably we find here cases of transfer of stem; and rātri, be it noted, is grammatically correct.

(b) *Combination of -as + ā resulting in o*

There are a few cases in the Rā. in which the combination -as + ā results in o as if the second member of the combination were a and not ā. The same phenomenon occurs in the Upaniṣads (cf. gūḍho' tmā—Kātha, i. 3. 12) and in the Mbh. where it is much more common, the first five books alone containing not less than 12 such cases. All the instances in the Rā. are *metri causa* for avoiding hypermetrical foot.

- ii. 34. 11 .. āryo' hvayati vō rājā (M., āryā hvayāti).
 M., By., iv. 12. 15 .. Vāliṇo' hvānakāraṇāt.
 vi. 111. 23 (M., 112. 24) eṣo' hitāgniś ca.
 vii. 36. 35 (M., 37) .. eṣo' śramāṇi tānyeva. (Cf. Mbh., bhavanto' śramāya, iii. 117. 7^c; sambhṛto' śramavāsinā, v. 164. 6^b, etc.).
 M., By., vii. 81. 12 .. so' śramāvasatho janah.

(c) *Miscellaneous*

Visarga has irregularly been dropped in a few cases, e.g.

- M., By., ii. 20. 37 .. na hy anyah putra vidyate (for putro vidyate).
 vii. 110. 7 .. gandharvāpsarasasāṅkule (for āpsarasasāṅkule).

Both the cases are *metri causa* for giving a di-iambic close in the posterior pāda of a half-śloka.

Irregular loss of visarjanīya in such cases as sārcimālī (i. 28. 7), arcimālī (v. 54. 48), jyotimukha (vii. 36. 48, etc.), chandagatau (vii. 36. 45, etc.) are perhaps due to transfer of stems and not genuine cases of irregular visarga sandhi.

eṣah irregularly becomes eṣo at

- vj. 28. 23 .. eṣo hi Lakṣmaṇo nāma (M., eṣo' sya).

This is for making the prior pāda of a half-śloka conform to the first pathyā and avoiding the seventh (i.e. ◡ - ◡ - ◡ - ◡ - ◡ instead of ◡ ◡ ◡ - ◡ - ◡).

Another irregular visarga sandhi is found at

- M., By., iv. 46. 15 .. nityam apsarasālayam (for apsaraālayam).

This also may not be a genuine case of irregular visarga sandhi, but of transfer of stem wherein apsaraḥ has been treated as apsarasā after the analogy of vāc: vācā, diś: diśā, tamas: tamasā, probably for avoiding an internal hiatus, unpleasant to the ear.

Postscript.—Keith (*op. cit.*) is inclined to explain the contraction in saraśiva (Rā., vi. 98. 1) by taking the second member as *va* < *iva*, as in Pāli. This explanation does not seem to be acceptable for the following reasons:—

- (i) *va* < *iva* as an independent word is nowhere found in the Rāmāyaṇa (excepting NW. Recension).
- (ii) Keith's theory fails to explain other similar definite cases of contraction of the Prāgrhya vowels, both in the Rā. and the Mbh. (e.g. Rā., vii. 102. 15, jajñātē' tidhārmikau; Mbh., i. 14. 5, samupetē' dbhutē' naghe; i. 19. 16, tē' gādham; i. 57. 88, jajñātē' straviśāradau; v. 45. 3, sisriyātē' ntarikṣe, etc., etc.). But as no such case occurs even in the metrical Upaniṣads, the contraction of Prāgrhya vowels in the epics should be regarded as genuine cases of archaism.

Similarly, it will be futile to try to explain such cases as *karisye+iti*, *hā Sitēti*, etc. by regarding the second member as *ti < iti*, as in Pālī and Prākṛit (for this theory will fail to explain such cases as *Rāmēti*, *Lavēti*, etc. for *Rāma iti*, *Lava iti* respectively). The process of sandhi in such cases is as follows: First the vowel -e becomes -a (i.e. *karisye+iti* becomes *karisya iti*) as sanctioned by Pāṇini in viii. 3. 19, and then by double sandhi it again becomes -e.

4. HIATUS

Though avoidance of hiatus is one of the basic principles of euphonic combination, still it seems that hiatus is one of the main characteristics of the epic, as of the Vedic, language. The R.V. shows a particular preference for maintaining the hiatus. -as before a is changed to o (through I.I. *-az) and the resultant hiatus, though not shown in about 75% of its occurrences in the written text of the R.V., almost always remains; in innumerable cases *y* and *v* are to be pronounced as *ia* and *ua* respectively; sometimes a long vowel, oftenest ā, is to be resolved into two short syllables; the hiatus caused by a regular loss of visarga is generally retained. The written text, no doubt, sometimes shows avoidance of hiatus, but almost always, especially between two pādas, the hiatus is to be restored *metri causa*, and this fact simply proves that the saṁhitās assumed their present form in an age, probably about 400 B.C., when hiatus came to be generally avoided as far as practicable.

The practice of maintaining the hiatus no doubt continued for a pretty long time from the Vedic period downwards and it is not surprising that both the Rā. and the Mbh. contain a large number of cases of external hiatus. This is particularly more common between two pādas, but at the same time is quite frequent in two words in the same pāda as well.

Chronologically the metrical Upaniṣads can be regarded as almost immediate predecessors of the genuine portions of the epics and as such it would be interesting and profitable to make a comparative study of the treatment of hiatus in the Upaniṣads and in the epics. Irregular hiatus between two pādas occurs three times in the Īśa (vv. 6, 7, 10), seven times in the Kāṭha (i. 7; ii. 8, 16, 25; iv. 5; v. 6, 12), and three times in the Muṇḍaka (i. 2. 10; iii. 1. 1; iii. 2. 2), while the Kena does not contain a single such case. Irregular hiatus between two words in the same pāda occurs twice in the Īśa (vv. 9, 18) and six times in the Muṇḍaka (i. 2. 7; ii. 1. 8; iii. 1. 1; iii. 2. 5, 6, 7), and is unknown in others. Internal hiatus (excepting those cases which occur after the regular loss of -s) is found only once, e.g. in the Muṇḍaka (iii. 2. 11). Hiatus, whether regular or irregular, between two pādas has been avoided only once in the Muṇḍaka (ii. 1. 2) and the same between two words within a pāda has been avoided three times in the Kāṭha (i. 25; ii. 10; iii. 10) and sixteen times in the Muṇḍaka (i. 2. 2, 5, 7, 11 [twice]; ii. 1. 2 [three times], 4, 9; ii. 2. 4, 7; iii. 1. 4, 5, 6; iii. 2. 1). Coalescence of vowels between two pādas occurs once in the Īśa (v. 14), thrice in the Muṇḍaka (ii. 1. 9; iii. 1. 2; iii. 2. 8), and eleven times in the Kāṭha (i. 9, 20; ii. 2; iii. 5, 7; iv. 7, 9; v. 3, 14; vi. 14, 15), while the same within a pāda is very frequent in all the Upaniṣads.

From the above analysis it becomes evident that although hiatus between two pādas was quite common in the Upaniṣads, there was a marked tendency to avoid the same within a pāda, mostly by the insertion of the particle *hi*. Similarly, we find that hiatus between two pādas is quite common in the epics, but is comparatively rare between words in the same pāda, whereas avoidance of hiatus between words within a pāda is much more frequent than that between two pādas (in the B. edition of the

Rā. hiatus between two words within a pāda has been avoided, mostly by the insertion of *hi*, not less than 22 times in the First Book, 13 times in the Fourth Book, 11 times in the Fifth Book, 63 times in the Sixth Book, and 71 times in the Seventh Book; hiatus between two pādas has been avoided not less than 10 times in the Second Book, 4 times in the Third Book, 10 times in the Fourth Book, 3 times in the Fifth Book, 13 times in the Sixth Book, and 17 times in the Seventh Book, but not even once in the First Book); some of them, however, show variants in different editions and recensions.

Dr. Sukthankar, while editing the Mbh., was in favour of restoring the hiatus wherever variants were found in the MSS. and it is held that the oldest Nepalese MS. of the Mbh. has confirmed his views (ABORI, xix, pp. 211-15). But this fact only proves that the scribes even at an early date made attempts to avoid the hiatus and regularize the un-Pāṇinian sandhi; and for this purpose different MSS., and even the same MS. at different places, betray many ingenious devices of the scribes and the redactors, e.g. change of syntactical order, upasarga and tense, insertion of indeclinables like *hi*, *ca*, *tu*, *vā*, *api*, *nu*, etc., substitution by synonyms (e.g. *muni* for *ṛṣi*), or cognate words, etc., and these variations in the different MSS. prove that hiatus, mostly between two pādas, is a genuine characteristic of the epic language as well.

Internal hiatus, however, was very rare even in the Vedic language, there being only three irregular (e.g. *titaū*, *praūga*, and the compound *suīti*) and a few more regular (e.g. *namaūkti*, *saptarṣi*, etc.) cases of internal hiatus in the entire Vedic literature. It is, therefore, only natural that internal hiatus is very rare in the epics and is found only in compound words. All the cases of internal hiatus in the Rā. are between *a* and *r* (cf. the fact that the combination *a+r* remains as such in the RV., though metrically it should sometimes be pronounced as *ar*) which is sometimes found in Classical Sanskrit also; but the Mbh. sometimes show other types as well (e.g. Mbh., i. 76. 33, *Nārāyaṇaūrogata*).

The most interesting types of hiatus found in the Rā. are those between (i) *a* [*< -as*] and *a*; (ii) *o* [*< -as*] and *a*; and (iii) *o* [*< -as*] and *r*. (ii) is normal sandhi of *-as+a* in the Saṃhitās and although the written texts of the Saṃhitās frequently show the elision of *a*, it must *metri causa* be restored in about 99% cases of its occurrences in the RV. and 80% cases of its occurrences in the AV. and metrical portions of the YV. This type of sandhi and resultant hiatus is found only once in the Upaniṣads (*Muṇḍaka*, iii. 1. 1, *anyo abhicākaṣīti*) and is rare in the Rā., although a bit more frequent in the Mbh. (i) and (iii) are unknown both in earlier and later literature and as such may be regarded as truly epic.

From the grammatical point of view, hiatus may broadly be divided into two classes: (i) regular, i.e. hiatus with a Praghya vowel or hiatus caused by the regular loss of *-s* or *-y* or *-v*, and (ii) irregular. As regular hiatus is quite common in later Sanskrit as well, instances of this type of hiatus in the Rā. will not be shown in our present treatment of the subject.

(A) Internal Hiatus

There are only 5 cases of internal hiatus in compound words in the Rā.; of them, one is doubtful, as the metre shows; two more show variants, and only 2 seem to be certain.

i. 8. 59 paramarṣiḥ

iii. 75. 26 harirṣarajonāmnah (M., harer Rṣarajonāmnah).

(By-reading seems to be corrupt.)

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UN-PĀṆINIAN SANDHI IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA

vii. 35. 65 ..

.. sadevagandharyarṣiyakṣarākṣasaiḥ (M., °gan-
dharvasayakṣa; K., °gandharvarṣiyakṣa).

vii. 40. 31 (M., 30) ..

.. rākṣasarṣavānarāḥ.

vii. 98. 22 ..

.. paramarṣinām vīra (M., paramam ṛṣinā).

(B) *Hiatus between two pādas*

(a) Between -a and a-

M., By., i. 1. 42

.. Sutikṣṇam cāpy Agastyam ca Agastyabhṛa-
taram tathā.

M., By., i. 3. 18

.. Anasūyāsamāsyām ca aṅgarāgasya cārpaṇam
(Rāma: °cāpy aṅga°).

i. 10. 26 ..

.. ehy āśramapadaṁ saumya asmākam iti cābruvan
(M., °saumya hy asmākam).

i. 25. 10 ..

.. Sunde tu nihate Rāma Agastyam ṛṣisattamam
(M., Rāma sāgastyam).

M., By., i. 32. 3

.. Kuśāmbaṁ Kuśanābhaṁ ca Asūrtarajasam
Vasum (Kṛṣṇācārya and Śrīraṅgam: °ca
Ādhūrtarajasam).

M., By., i. 38. 22

.. tasya putro' mśumān nāma Asamañjasya
virāvān.

i. 45. 32 ...

.. atha Dhanvantarir nāma apsarās ca suvarcasah
(M., 20, °Rāma apsarāśca).

M., By., i. 56. 10

.. vāyavyam mathanaṁ caiva astraṁ hayaśiras
tathā.

M., By., i. 67. 11

.. darśayaitān mahābhāga anayo rājaputryoh.

i. 67. 21 ..

.. atyadbhutam acintyam ca atarkitam idam
mayā (M., °ca na tarkitam).

i. 70. 40 (M., 41)

.. Sudarśanaḥ Śaṅkhaṇṇasya Agnivarṇaḥ Sudar-
śanāt.

ii. 53. 29 ..

.. dhruvam adya purī Rāma Ayodhyā yudhinām
vara (M., °rājann Ayodhyā).

M., By., ii. 59. 16

.. Kausalyā putrahīneva Ayodhyā pratibhāti me.

ii. 70. 9 ..

.. Śatrughnasya ca vīrasya arogā cāpi madhyamā
(M., vīrasya sārogā).

M., By., ii. 76. 13

.. ye tv agnayo narendrasya agnyagārād bahiṣ-
kṛtāḥ.

iv. 25. 52 ..

.. tatas te sahitās tatra Aṅgadaṁ sthāpya cāgrataḥ
(M., tatra hy Aṅgadaṁ).

M., By., iv. 27. 17

.. padmakaiḥ saralaiś caiva aśokaiś caiva śobhitam.

iv. 36. 6 ..

.. tādrśam pratikurvīta amśenāpi nṛpātmaja (M.,
tādrśam vikramam vira pratikartum arin-
dama). (From the M.-reading it becomes
evident that the last word in this half-śloka
was probably arindama and thus this half-
śloka contained another hiatus in amśenāpi
arindama, which, however, was avoided even
in the By. edition by substituting nṛpātmaja
for arindama.)

v. 38. 38 ..

.. tvayā nāthavati nātha anāthā° (M., nātha hy
anāthā).

v. 55. 28 (M., 29)

.. tapasā satyavākyena ananyatvāc ca bhartari.

vi. 19. 12 ..

.. baddhagodhāṅgulitṛas ca avadhyakavaco yadhi
(M., trāṇas tv avadhy°).

- vi. 32. 31 .. amoghaḥ kriyatām Rāma ayaṁ tatra śarottamaḥ
(M., 34, Rāma tatra teṣu).
- vi. 22. 36 .. tasmād tadbānapātena apah kuṁṣiṣv aśoṣayat
(M., °bānena tv apah°).
- M., vi. 22. 78 .. tad acintyam asahyam ca adbhutam romaharṣa-
nam (By., 73, °ca hy adbhutam).
- vi. 22. 78 (M., 82) .. Hanūmaṁtaṁ tvam āroha Aṅgadaṁ tvatha
(M., cāpi) Lakṣmaṇaḥ.
- vi. 32. 36 .. tena darśanakāmena aham prasthāpitaḥ prabho
(M., °kāmena vayam).
- vi. 36. 5 .. hīnam mām manyase kena ahīnaṁ sarvavikra-
maiḥ (M., °kena hy ahīnam).
- M., By., vi. 54. 1 .. svabalasya ca ghātena Aṅgadasya balena ca.
- M., By., vi. 54. 33 .. nimeṣāntaramātreṇa Aṅgadaḥ kapikuṁjaraḥ.
- M., By., vi. 60. 8 .. Ikṣvākukulajātena (M., -nāthena) Anaraṇyasya
yat purā.
- vi. 76. 22 (M., 21) .. Prajaṅgho Vāliputrāya abhidudrāva vegitaḥ.
- vi. 83. 24 .. adṛṣṭapratikāreṇa avyaktenāsatā satā (M.,
°kāreṇa tv avyaktena).
- vi. 93. 50 (M., 53) .. athavā putrasokena ahatvā Rāma-Lakṣmaṇau.
- vi. 93. 58 (M., 61) .. etasminn antare tasya amātyaḥ silavāñ (M.,
buddhimāñ) śuciḥ.
- vi. 100. 5 .. Dvidiś caiva Maindiś ca Aṅgado Gandha-
mādanaḥ (M., Maindiś ca Dvidiś caiva hy
Aṅgado°).
- vi. 119. 30 .. amoghaṁ darśanaṁ Rāma amoghas tava
saṁstavaḥ (M., 120. 30, °Rāma na ca moghas).
- vii. 11. 42 .. kumudair utpalaiś caiva anyaiś caiva sugandhi-
bhiḥ (M., 43, °caiva tathānyaiś ca).
- vii. 33. 5 .. tatas te pratyabhijñāya Arjunāya nyavedayan
(M., °jñāya cārjunāya).
- M., By., vii. 33. 11 .. adya me kuśalaṁ deva adya me kuśalam vratam
adya me saphalaṁ janma adya me saphalaṁ
tapaḥ.
- vii. 36. 18 .. matto madāyudhānām ca avadhyo' yam bha-
viṣyati (M., °ca na vadhyo' yam).
- vii. 36. 39 (M., 40) .. Sugriheṇa samaṁ tasya advaidhaṁ chidravarji-
tam.
- M., By., vii. 48. 13 .. āhaṁ tyaktā ca te vīra ayaśobhiruṇā jane.
- M., By., vii. 55. 10 .. vṛto' ham pūrvam Indreṇa antaram pratipālaya.
- M., vii. 56. 7 .. lokanātha Mahādeva aṇḍajo' pi tvam abjajah
(By., Mahādeva vāyubhūto' ham).
- vii. 56. 11 .. evam uktas tu devena abhivādyā pradakṣiṇam
(M., °devena cābhivādyā).
- vii. 57. 5 .. pūrvam samabhavat tatra Agastyo bhagavān
rsiḥ (M., °tatra hy Agastyo).
- vii. 62. 13 .. duḥkhāni ca bahūniha anubhūtāni pārthiva
(M., °bahūniha hy anubhūtāni).
- vii. 63. 2 .. adharmaṁ vidma Kākutṣtha asminn arthe
nareśvara (M., °Kākutṣtha hy asminn).
- vii. 65. 36 .. matprasādāc ca rājendra atītaṁ na śmaṛiṣyasi
(M., °rājendra vyatītam).
- M., By., vii. 67. 22 .. śūlasya tu balāṁ saumya aprameyam anu-
tamame

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- vii. 72. 15 .. kāle kāle tu, mām vīra Ayōdhyāṃ avalokitum
(M., vīra hy Ayodhyāṃ).
vii. 75. 19 .. ity evaṃ uktāḥ sa narādhipēna avākchirā
Dāsarathāya tasmai (M., 'narādhipena hy
avākśirā).
vii. 76. 23 .. tato' bhivādayāmāsa Agastyam ṛṣisattamam
(M., 'māsa hy Agastyam).
vii. 78. 18 (M., 19) .. tadā tu tad vanam Śveta Agastyāḥ sumahān ṛṣiḥ.

(b) Between -a and ā-

- i. 45. 31 (M., 19) .. atha varṣasahasreṇa Āyur vedamayāḥ pumān.
M., By., i. 48. 11 .. Mithilopavane tatra āśramam dr̥śya Rāghavam.
i. 49. 12 .. Viśvāmitram puraskṛtya āśramam praviveśa ha
(M. 14, puraskṛtya tam āśramam).
i. 58. 11 .. cityāmālyāṅgarāgaś ca āyasābharāṇo' bhavat
(M., 'lepaś ca āyasā').
M., By., i. 70. 8 .. ājñayā tu narendrasya ājagāma Kuśadhvajāḥ.
iii. 12. 26 .. kuśalapraśnam uktvā ca āsyatām iti so' bravīt
(M., 'ca hy āsyatām').
iv. 43. 31 (M., 33) .. tam deśam samatikramya āśramam siddha-
sevitam.
M., By., iv. 46. 6 .. tataḥ kṣatajavegena āpupūre tadā bilam.
v. 35. 37 (M., 38) .. tāni sarvāṇi Rāmāya āniya hariyūthapāḥ.
v. 55. 13 (M., 14) .. kim agnau nipatāmy adya āhosvid vaḍavā-
mukhe.
v. 57. 34 .. hr̥ṣṭāḥ pādapaśākhāś ca āninyur vānararāśabhāḥ.
v. 62. 24 .. balān nivārayantaś ca āsedur harayo harin.
vi. 4. 22 (M., 23) .. guhābhyāḥ śikharebhyāś ca āśu puplūvire tadā.
M., By., vi. 21. 14 .. prasannaś ca kṣamā caiva ārjavam priyavādītā.
vi. 63. 20 .. yo hi śatrum avajñāya ātmānam nābhirakṣati
(M., 'abhijñāya nātmānam').
M., By., vi. 91. 6 .. ahaṃ tu ratham āsthāya āgamiṣyāmi samyugam.
vii. 29. 31 (M., 33) .. Rāvanas tu samāsādyā Ādityāmaś ca Vasūmaś
tathā.
vii. 30. 30 .. dr̥ṣṭas tvam sa tadā tena āśramam paramarṣiṇā
(M., 32, tena hy āśramam).
vii. 30. 49 (M., 51) .. nītaḥ sannihītaś caiva āryakeṇa mahodadhau.
vii. 32. 50 .. nṛparākṣasayos tatra ārabdham romaharṣaṇam
(M., 'tatra cārabdham').
M., By., vii. 41. 14 .. gamyatām iti covāca āgaccha tvam smare yadā.
M., By., vii. 59. 17 .. abhiśekeṇa saṃpūjya āśramam samviveśa ha.
M., By., vii. 63. 10 .. saṃbhārān abhiśekasya ānayadr̥vaṃ samāhitāḥ.
M., vii. 71. 19 .. avānmukhāś ca dināś ca āścāryam iti cābruvan
(By., 'ca hy āścāryam').
M., By., vii. 81. 22 .. kṛtodakā naravyāghra Ādityam paryupāsītā.

(c) Between -a and ī-

- M., By., i. 26. 33 .. mūrḍhni Rāmam upāghrāya idam vacanam
abravīt.
M., By., i. 63. 22 .. yatasva munisārdūla ity uktvā tridivam gataḥ.
M., By., i. 67. 1 .. dhanur darsaya Rāmasya itī hovāca pāthivam.
M., By., i. 67. 22 .. vatsa Rāma dhanuḥ paśya iti Rāghavam
abravīt.

- M., By., i. 70. 6 .. viditaṃ te mahārāja Ikṣvākukuladaivatam.
M., By., iii. 13. 4 .. yathaiṣā ramate Rāma iha Sītā tathā kuru.
iii. 31. 12 .. nāgendra iva niḥśvasya idaṃ vacanam abravīt
(M., °niḥśvasya vacanam cedam).
M., By., iii. 66. 5 .. prākṛtaś cālpasattvaś ca itaraḥ kaś sahiṣyate.
M., By., iv. 40. 10 .. bāhubhyaṃ saṃpariṣvajya idaṃ vacanam
abravīt.
M., By., iv. 56. 16 .. Kaikeyyā varadanena idaṃ ca vikṛtaḥ kṛtam.
iv. 59. 21 .. eṣa kālātyayas tāta iti vākyavidāṃ vara
(M., °tāvad iti).
M., By., v. 3. 23 .. kaś tvaṃ kena ca kāryeṇa iha prapto vanālaya.
vi. 7. 18 .. ayam eko mahārāja Indrajit kṣapayisyati (M.,
19, °mahābāhur Indrajit).
M., By., vi. 14. 12 .. dharmapradhānasya mahārathasya Ikṣvāku-
vaṃśaprarasasya rājñah.
M., By., vi. 17. 8 .. sālān udyāmya śailānś ca idaṃ vacanam
abruvan.
M., By., vi. 23. 31 .. Saumitraṃ saṃpariṣvajya idaṃ vacanam
abravīt.
M., By., vi. 91. 4 .. stuvāno (M., stuvāno) haṛṣamāṇaś ca idaṃ
vacanam abravīt.
M., vi. 117. 32 (By., vi. 116. addl. 1 after 32). .. kalatranirapekṣaś ca īṅgitair asya dāruṇaiḥ.
vii. 19. 20 (M., 21) .. tasya rākṣasarājasya Ikṣvākukulanāndanah.
M., By., vii. 34. 19 .. prayatnavantau tat karma ihatur baladarpitau.
vii. 35. 27 .. yadi tāvac chiśor asya idṛśo gatavikramah
(M., °asya tv idṛśo).
M., By., vii. 35. 59 .. putras tasyāmareṣena Indrenādya nipātitaḥ.
vii. 51. 22 (M., 23) .. samṛddhaiś caśvamedhaiś ca iṣṭvā paramadur-
jayaḥ.
M., By., vii. 55. 4 .. āsīd rājā Nimir nāma Ikṣvākūṇāṃ mahāt-
manām.
M., By., vii. 55. 8 .. tataḥ pitaram āmantrya Ikṣvākum hi Manoh
sutam.
M., By., vii. 83. 7 .. Somaś ca rājasūyena iṣṭvā dharmena dharmavit.
vii. 89. 24 .. Budhasya samavarṇaṃ ca Ilāputram mahā-
balam (M., °samavarṇābham Ilāputram).

(d) Between -a and ū-

- i. 24. 32 (M., 31) .. yaksinyā ghorayā Rāma utsāditam asahyayā.
i. 29. 18 (M., 19) .. siddhe karmani deveśa uttiṣṭha bhagavann itaḥ.
M., By., i. 35. 20 .. Rudrāyāpratirūpāya Umāṃ lokanamaskṛtām.
i. 73. 39 (M., 40) .. trir agniṃ te parikramya ūhur bhāryā mahau-
jasaḥ.
M., By., iii. 49. 22 .. viceṣṭamānām ādāya utpapātātha Rāvaṇah.
M., By., iii. 68. 36 .. snātva tau grāhrarājāya udakaṃ cakratus tadā.
M., By., vi. 3. 27 .. nyarbudaṃ rakṣasām atra uttaradvāram
āśritam.
vi. 39. 24 (M., 26) .. nānādhātuvicitrais ca udyānair upaśobhitam.
vi. 59. 43 (M., 46) .. taṃ Lakṣmaṇaḥ prāñjalir abhyupetya uvāca.
Rāmam paramārthayuktam.
M., By., vi. 70. 7 .. sa vṛkṣaṃ kṛttam ālokyā utpapāta tadāṅgadah.
vii. 32. 30 .. kṣamasvāḥya Daśagrīva uśyatām rajanī tvayā

- M. By., vii. 36. 1 ... śisukam tam samādāya ūttaschnau Dhātur agrataḥ.
 vii. 51. 6 ... °phalamūlais ca uvāsa munibhiḥ saha
 M., By., vii. 57. 6 ... tad dhi tejas tu Mitrasya Urvaśyāḥ pūrvam āhitam.
 M., By., vii. 71. 11 ... sabhāyām Vāsavasyātha upaviṣṭena Rāghava.
 M., By., vii. 94. 5 ... svarāṇām lakṣaṇajñās ca utsukān dvijasatta-
 mām.
 vii. 103. 4 (M., 5) ... jayasva rājadharmēṇa ubhau lokas mahādhyute.
 M., By., vii. 107. 11 ... Vasiṣṭhasya tu vākyena utthāpya prakṛtījanam.

(e) Between -a and r-

- M., By., i. 3. 26 ... aṅgulyakadānaṁ ca ṛkṣasya biladarśanam.
 i. 9. 13 ... °mahīpāla Rṣyaśṛṅgaṁ susatkṛtam
 i. 17. 35 (M., 36) ... jugopa bhuja-viryēṇa ṛkṣa-gopuccha-vānarān.
 M., By., i. 34. 7 ... nāmnā Satyavati nāma Rēike pratipādītā.
 i. 60. 22 ... dakṣiṇām diśam āsthāya ṛṣimadhye mahātapāḥ
 (M., āsthāya muni°).
 M., By., ii. 92. 21 ... devānām dānavānām ca ṛṣiṇām bhāvitātmanām.
 M., By., iii. 69. 32 ... karābhyām vividhān gṛhya ṛkṣān pakṣigaṇān
 mrgān.
 iv. 46. 23 (M., 24) ... tatra parvatam āsādy Rṣyamūkaṁ nrpātma-
 vi. 4. 34 (M., 35) ... °Jāmbavāms caiva ṛkṣair bahubhir āvṛtaiḥ.
 M., vi. 38. 12 (By., addl. Jāmbavāms ca Suśeṇas ca Rṣabhas ca mahā-
 verse 2 after verse 7). ... matih.
 M., By., vii. 6. 1 ... tair bādhyamānā devās ca ṛṣayaś ca tapodhanāḥ.
 vii. 97. 9 ... pratyayo me naraśreṣṭha ṛṣivākyaair akalmaṣaiḥ
 (M., 11, suraśreṣṭhā ṛṣi°).

(f) Between -a and e-

- M., By., i. 3. 29 ... rātrau Lankāpraveśas ca ekasyāpi vicintanam.
 i. 42. 20 ... Ikṣvākūnām kule deva eṣa me' stu varah paraḥ.
 ii. 64. 43 ... bhūmidasyāhitāgneś ca ekapatnīvratasya ca
 (M., °āhitāgner eka-).
 iii. 31. 33 ... bādham kalya gamiṣyāmi ekaḥ sārathinā saha
 (M., °gamiṣyāmi hy ekaḥ).
 iv. 18. 54 (M., 53) ... bālās cākṛtabuddhiś ca ekaputraś ca me priyaḥ.
 M., By., vi. 41. 4 ... idānim mā kṛthā vira evamvidham acintitam
 (arindama).
 M., By., vii. 19. 3 ... nirjitāḥ smeti vā brūta eṣa me hi suniścayah.
 vii. 35. 6 ... ete Hanumatā tatra ekena vinipātītāḥ (M., tatra
 hy ekena).

(g) Between -a and ai-

- M., By., i. 27. 6 ... agram Brāhmasiraś caiva Aiśikam api Rāghava.
 M., By., i. 56. 6 ... Vāruṇam caiva Raudram ca Aindram Pāsupa-
 tam tathā.
 ii. 14. 1 ... vīceṣṭamānam utprekṣya Aiśvākam idam
 abravīt (M., °udvikṣya saikṣvākam).
 vii. 6. 40 ... svādhitam dattam iṣṭam ca aiśvaryaṁ prati-
 pālitam (M., 36, °cāpy aiśvaryaṁ).

(h) Between -a (<-as) and a-

- i. 70. 43 .. Nābhāgasya babhūvāja Ajād Daśaratho' bhava
(M., °Ajah Ajād).
- ii. 110. 31 .. Śudarśanasyāgnivarna Agnivarnasya Śighragah.
ii. 113. 23 .. Śrīgaverapurād bhūya Ayodhyām sandadarśa
ha (M., °bhūyas tv Ayodhyām).
- iii. 47. 2 .. brāhmaṇas cātithiś caisā anukto hi śapeta mām
(M., °cāyam anukto).
- iv. 53. 7 (M., 20) .. yuvarājo mahaprājña Aṅgado vākyam abravīt.
vi. 35. 13 .. dharmo hi śrūyate pakṣa amarāṇām mahāt-
manām (M., pakṣo hy amarāṇām). (Hiatus in
the next half-śloka of the same verse has,
however, been avoided even in the By.
edition; thus: pakṣo hy asurāṇām.)
- vi. 71. 97 (M., 103) .. Brahmadattavaro hy eṣa avadhyakavacāvṛtaḥ.
vi. 83. 29 .. yadi dharmo bhaved bhūta adharo vā paran-
tapa (M., °bhūtaḥ adharo).
- vii. 32. 67 .. sahasā rākṣasaḥ kruddha abhidudrāva Haihayān
(M., °kruddhaś cābhidudrāva).
- vii. 35. 63 .. mā vināśaṁ gamiṣyāma aprasādyāditeḥ sutam.
vii. 36. 16 (M., 17) .. varam dadāmi santuṣṭa aviśādaṁ ca sāmyuge.

(i) Between -ā and a-

- M., By., i. 25. 11 .. āpatantīm tu tām dr̥ṣtvā Agastyo bhagavān
ṛṣiḥ.
- i. 48. 17 .. muniveśadharo bhūtvā Ahalyām idam abravīt
(M., °dharo' halyām).
- M., By., i. 71. 20 .. kaṇiyān eṣa me bhrātā ahaṁ jyeṣṭho mahāmune.
i. 73. 32 (M., 33) .. Śatrughnaṁ cāpi dharmātmā abravīn Mithi-
leśvaraḥ (M., Janakeśvaraḥ).
- ii. 113. 24 .. sārathē paśya vidhvastā Ayodhyā na prakāśate
(M., vidhvastā sāyodhyā).
- ii. 118. 3 .. yady apy eṣa bhaved bhartā anāryo vṛttavar-
jitaḥ (M., bhartā mamāryē).
- iv. 43. 22 .. hamsakāraṇḍavākīrṇā apsarogaṇasevitā (M.,
°kīrṇā hy apsaro°).
- v. 24. 31 .. Rāvanasya gr̥he ruddhā asmābhis tv abhira-
kṣitā (M., °ruddhām asmābhis).
- v. 58. 96 .. tasya tad vacanaṁ śrutvā aham apy abruvam
vacāḥ (M., °śrutvā hy aham).
- M., By., vi. 34. 10 .. tadbhayāc cāham udvignā Aśokavanikāṁ gatā.
M., By., vi. 48. 23 .. sā tvam bhava suviśrabdhā anumanaīḥ sukho-
dayaiḥ.
- vi. 113. 69 .. ānitā Rāmapatni sā apanīya ca Lakṣmaṇam
(M., 114. 69, °sā tat te kātaryalakṣaṇam).
- vi. 120. 10 .. na kiñcid abhidhātavyā aham ājñāpayāmi te
(M., °abhidhātavyam aham).
- vii. 4. 9 .. Prajāpatiḥ purā sr̥ṣtvā apah salilasambhavaḥ
(M., °sr̥ṣtvā hy apah).
- M., By., vii. 24. 12 .. kācid dadhyau suśukhārtā api mām mārayed
ayam.
- vii. 31. 5 .. Rāghavasyā vacāḥ śrutvā Agastyo bhagavān
ṛṣiḥ (M., °śrutvā hy Agastyo°).

- M., By., vii. 52. 15 .. yadartham Māithili tyaktā apavāḍabhayān nṛpa.
 M., By., vii. 55. 5 .. niveśayāmāsa tadā abhyāse Gautamasya tu.
 M., By., vii. 75. 7 .. so' bravīt pranato bhūtvā ayam asmi narādhipa.
 vii. 96. 10 .. tam ṛṣim pṛsthataḥ Sītā anvagacchad avāṇmukhī
 (M., 11, °Sītā tv anvagacchad).
 vii. 96. 22 (M., 23) .. iyaṁ śuddhasamācārā apāpā patidevatā.
 vii. 105. 10 (M., 11) .. niḥsṛtya tvaritaṁ rājā Atreḥ putraṁ dadarśa ha.

(j) Between -ā and ā-

- i. 10. 13 .. hārdāt tasya matir jātā ākhyātum pitaraṁ
 svakam (M., °jātā hy ākhyātum).
 ii. 32. 39 .. tam pariśvajya dharmātmā āvāpya Sarayūtātāt
 (M., °dharmātmā ā tasmāt).
 ii. 71. 3 .. śilām ākurvatīm tīrtvā āgneyaṁ śalyakarṣa-
 nam (M., °tīrtvā hy āgneyam).
 vii. 36. 42 (M., 43) .. simhah kuñjararuddho vā (pañjararuddho vā)
 āsthitah sahito raṇe.
 M., By., vii. 62. 12 .. santāpaṁ hrdaye kṛtvā āryasyāgamanam prati.
 M., By., vii. 80. 18 .. arajāpi rudanti sā āśramasyāvidūrataḥ.

(k) Between -ā and i-

- M., By., i. 6. 5 .. pālītā sā purīśreṣṭhā Indrenevāmarāvati.
 ii. 12. 56 .. dinayāturayā vācā iti hovāca Kaikayīm (M.,
 °rājā iti).
 ii. 15. 25 (M., 26) .. pratibudhya tato rājā idam vacanam abravīt.
 v. 60. 8 .. drṣṭā devī na cānitā iti tatra niveditum.
 vi. 35. 6 (M., 7) .. Rāvaṇasya vacah śrutvā iti mātāmaho'bravīt.
 vi. 84. 7 .. °Sītā iti śrutyaiva Rāghavaḥ (M., °Sītām iha).
 vi. 113. 40 (M., 114. 40) .. putro me Śakranirjetā ity ahaṁ garvitā
 bhr̥śam.
 M., By., vii. 33. 4 .. praviveśa purīm Brahmā Indrasyevāmarā-
 vatīm.

(l) Between -ā and u-

- M., By., i. 35. 21 .. Gaṅgā ca saritām śreṣṭhā Umā devī ca Rāghava.
 v. i. 63 .. khe yathā nipataty ulkā uttarāntād viniḥsṛtā
 (M., ulkā hy uttarā°).
 v. 37. 46 .. °āsaktā upary upari° (M., °āsannā hy upary°).
 vi. 17. 19 (M., 28) .. nihanyād antaram labdhvā ulūko vāyasān iva
 (M., iva vāyasān). (For the closing part M.-
 reading seems to be the better of the two.)
 vi. 77. 12 (M., 13) .. vikiryamāṇaḥ sahasā ulkāśatam ivāmbare.
 vii. 35. 36 .. utpapatāsanam hitvā udvaṇan kāñcanīm
 srajam (M., °hitvā codvahan).
 M., By., vii. 48. 2 .. Lakṣmaṇam dinayā vācā uvāca Janakātmaḥ.

(m) Between -ā and r-

- M., By., i. 45. 7 .. naur eṣā hi sukhāstirṇā ṛṣinām punyaka-
 maṇam.
 M., By., i. 69. 13 .. tasya tad vacanam śrutvā ṛṣimadhye parā-
 dhipah.
 M., By., v. 9. 9 .. tādrī tad viśiṣṭā vā rōdhī rakṣogaṇaḥ iha.

- vii. 36. 58 (M., 59) .. Agastyādayas tu tac chrutvā ṛṣayah saṁśīta-
vrātāḥ.
vii. 40. 13 (M., 14) .. Rāmasya- bhāṣitām śrutvā ṛkṣa-vānara-
rākṣasāḥ.
M., By., vii. 62. 2 .. Rāghavyaśya vacaḥ śrutvā ṛṣayah sarva eva te.
M., vii. 76. 47 (By., adell. 13). tasya tad vacanaṁ śrutvā ṛṣeḥ paramadhārmī-
kam.

(n) Between -ī and ā-

- i. 38. 8 .. ṣaṣṭim putrasahasrāṇi aparā janayiṣyati (M.,
sahasrāṇi hy aparā).
ii. 71. 39 .. apetaṁālyasobhāni asaṁmrṣṭājirāṇi ca (M., 40,
sobhāny apy asaṁmrṣṭā°).
M., By., iv. 12. 34 .. tvayi vīra vipanne hi ajñānāl lāghavān mayā.
iv. 59. 18 .. diṣṭyā jīvati Sīteti abruvan mām maharṣayah
(M., Sīteti hy abruvan).
v. 13. 38 .. vānaprastho bhaviṣyāmi adṛṣtvā Janakātma-
jām (M., °bhaviṣyāmi hy adṛṣtvā).
v. 59. 24 (M., 27) .. pativrata ca suśroni avastabdhā ca Jānakī.
M., By., vi. 54. 29 .. tataḥ paramatejasvī Aṅgadah plavagaṛṣabhaḥ.
vi. 113. 104 .. śakatān dānurūpāṇi agnīm vai yājakaṁs tathā.
vi. 113. 116 .. dārupātrāṇi sarvāṇi aranīm cottarāraṇim.
M., vi. 129. 30 .. acintayanti Vaidehī Aśokavanikāṁ gatā (By.,
128. 32, °Vaidehī hy Aśoka°).
vii. 2. 23 .. dhyānaṁ viveśa tac cāpi apaśyad ṛṣikarmajam
(M., °cāpi hy apaśyad).
vii. 96. 4 .. Bharadvājaś ca tejasvī Agniputraś ca supra-
bhaḥ (M., °tejasvī hy Agniputraś ca).
vii. 96. 20 (M., 21) .. tasyāham phalam aśnāmi apāpā Maithilī yadi
(K., tasyāḥ phalam upāśniyām apāpā°).
M., By., i. 44. 23 .. sarve pāpāḥ prapaśyanti āyuh kīrtiś ca
vardhate.
i. 64. 18 .. ahaṁ hi śoṣayiṣyāmi ātmānam vijitendriyaḥ
(M., °śyāmi hy ātmānam).
M., By., i. 72. 15 .. imāny āsanamukhyāni āsyatām (āsatām) muni-
pūṅgavau.
vii. 6. 5. .. śaraṇāny aśaraṇyāni āśramāṇi kṛtāni naḥ (M.,
°aśaraṇyāni hy āśramāṇi).
vii. 34. 28 .. paścimaṁ sāgaraṁ Vālī ājagāma sa-Rāvaṇaḥ
(M., °Vālī hy ājagāma).
vii. 85. 6 .. tredhābhūtaṁ kariṣyāmi ātmānaṁ surasatta-
maiḥ (M., °kariṣyāmi hy ātmānam).

(o) Between -ī and vowels other than ā-

- i. 46. 7 .. tām ālabhya tataḥ svasti ity uktvā tapase
yayau (M., °tataḥ svastity uktvā sa).
vii. 89. 23 .. tataḥ sā navame māsi Ilā Somasutāt sutam.
i. 21. 3 .. °kariṣyēti uktaṁ vākyaṁ akurvataḥ
M., By., ii. 118. 53 .. mama caivānujā sādhvī Ūrmilā śubhadarsanā.
M., By., vi. 13. 19 .. Rāmam ādipayiṣyāmi ulkābhīr iva kuñjaram.
vi. 24. 38 .. śarair ādipayiṣyāmi ulkābhīr iva kuñjaram
(M., 39, °ādipayāmy enam ulkābhīr).
M., By., vi. 71. 57 .. sa sañcukopātīhalo manasvī uvāca vākyaṁ ca
tato bhṛacchriḥ.

- vicintayan 'na muñcāmi R̥symūkam ahaṁ tv
imam.
- vi. 106. 13 (M., 107. 13) .. vyomanāthas tamobhedī R̥g-Yajuh-Sāma-
pāragah:
- M., By., vii. 39. 7 .. svāni rājyāni mukhyāni rddhāni muditāni ca.
- M., By., vii. 46. 8 .. Gaṅgātīre mayā devī ṛṣinām āśramān śubhān.
- M., By., vii. 69. 16 .. Śatrughno vai puradvāri ṛṣibhiḥ saṁprapūjitah.
- vi. 67. 11 .. tāni cānyāni rakṣāmsi evaṁ cānyad gireḥ
śirah (M., 12, °rakṣāmsi punaś cānyad).
- vii. 107. 18 .. daśa cāśvasahasrāṇi ekaikasya dhanam dadau
(M., 19, °cāśvānām ekaikasya).

(p) Between -u and ā-

- M., By., i. 65. 5 .. etasminn eva kāle tu Ayodhyādhīpatir mahān.
- M., By., i. 70. 38 .. Sagarasyāsamañjas tu Asamañjād athāmsu-
mān.
- ii. 30. 15 .. patram mūlam phalam yat tu alpam vā yadi
vā bahu (M., °tvam alpam).
- iv. 21. 11 .. saṁskāryo harirājas tu Āṅgadaś cābhiṣeyatām
(M., °rājas ca Āṅgadaś cā°).
- M., By., vi. 28. 12 .. triyojanasahasram tu adhvānam avatīrya hi.
- M., By., vii. 32. 10 .. aprāptāny eva tāny āśu asambhrāntas tadār-
junah.
- M., By., vii. 63. 30 .. anyathā kriyamāṇe tu avadhyah sa bhaviṣyati.
- M., By., iii. 31. 17 .. taṁ svayam pūjayitvā tu āsanenodakena tu.
- vii. 93. 7 .. jātāni parvatāgreṣu āśvādyāśvādyā gāyatām
(M., °āgreṣu cāśvādyā°).

(q) Between -u and vowels other than ā-

- M., By., ii. 10. 39 .. kim āyāsena te bhīru uttiṣṭhotttiṣṭha śobhane.
- M., By., vii. 56. 13 .. etasminn eva kāle tu Urvaśi paramāpsarā.
- i. 17. 5 (M., 6) .. yakṣapannagakanyāsu ṛkṣavidyādhareṣu ca.
- M., By., i. 18. 8 .. tato yajñe samāpte tu ṛtūnām ṣaṭ samatyayuh.

(r) Between -e and ā-

- i. 40. 9 .. na ca paśyāmahe' śvaṁ te aśvahartāram eva
ca (M., °tam aśva°).
- i. 45. 41 .. ekatām agaman sarve asurā rākṣasaiḥ saha.
- i. 52. 23 .. tat sarvaṁ kāmadhug divye abhivaṛṣa kṛte
mama (M., °kṣipram abhivaṛṣa).
- M., By., i. 67. 24 .. mama Kauśika bhadraṁ te Ayodhyāṁ tvaṛitā
rathaiḥ.
- ii. 22. 4 .. upakṛptam yad etan me abhiṣekārtham
uttamam (M., upakṛptam hi yat kiñcid
abhiṣekārtham adya me).
- ii. 87. 17 .. iti tena vyaṁ sarve anunitā mahātmanā (M.,
16, °rājann anunitāh).
- iv. 62. 6 .. rākṣasendra janasthāne avadhyah suradānavaiḥ
(M., °janasthānād avadhyah).
- v. 1. 124 .. tvarate kāryakālo me ahaś cāpy ativartate
(M., 131, °me hy ahaś°).
- M., By., vii. 46. 9 .. aranye munibhir juste adya neyā (M., apāneyā)
bhaviṣyati.

- M., By., vii. 46. 15 .. hrdayam caiva Saumire asvastham iva lakṣaye.
vii. 78. 9 .. bhrātaram Suratham rāje abhiṣicya mahi-
patim (M., °rāje hy abhiṣicya).
vii. 91. 10 .. sārddham āgaccha bhadram te anubhoktum
mahotsavam (M., °te hy anubhoktum).
vii. 102. 13 .. putre sthite durādharṣe Ayodhyām punarāga-
mat (M., durādharṣe hy Ayodhyām).
vii. 109. 21 .. sarvāṇi Rāmagamane anujagmur hitāny api
(M., °gamane hy anujagmur).
iii. 43. 42 .. sa kadācic cirāl loke āsasāda mahāmunim
(M., 40, °lobhād āsasāda).
iii. 47. 48 .. hrtāpi te'haṁ jarām na gamiṣye ājyam yathā
maksikayāvagirnam (M., °gamiṣye vajram
yathā).
M., By., iii. 74. 30 .. praharṣam atulaṁ lebhe āścaryam iti cābravīt.
v. 62. 27 .. madāndho na kṛpām cakre āryako'yam
mameti ca (M., °vedainam āryako'yam).
vi. 4. 4 (M., 5) .. Sītā śrutvābhiyānam me āsām eṣyati jivite.
M., By., vii. 1. 15 .. yathārham upaviṣtās te āśrameṣv ṛṣisattamam.
vii. 44. 21 .. tathā vadati Kākutsthe avadhānaparāyanāḥ
(M., Kākutsthe hy avadhāna°).
M., By., vii. 74. 5 .. ete dvijaṛṣabhāḥ sarve āsaneṣūpaveṣitāḥ.
M., By., vii. 81. 13 .. ihaiva vasa durmedhe āśrame susamāhite.

(s) Between -e and vowels other than ā-

- i. 14. 17 .. aho tṛptāḥ sma bhadram te iti sūsrāva
Rāghavaḥ (M., °ta iti).
M., By., i. 42. 22 .. evam bhavatu bhadram te Ikṣvākukulavar-
dhana.
ii. 74. 65 .. vyaktam Rāmābhiṣekārthe ihāyāsyati dhar-
marāt (M., °ābhiṣekārtham iha).
M., By., vii. 6. 20 .. Sukeśam rākṣasam jāne Īśānavaradarpitam.
vii. 76. 10 .. disantu varam etan me īpsitam paramam mama
(M., °ma īpsitam).
M., By., i. 33. 12 .. Somadā nāma bhadram te Ūrmilā tanayā tadā.
M., By., i. 71. 21 .. Sītām Rāmāya bhadram te Ūrmilām Lakṣma-
nāya vai.
i. 73. 30 (M., 31) .. Lakṣmīnāgaccha bhadram te Ūrmilām udyā-
tām mayā.
M., ii. 67. 17 .. nārājake janapade udyānāni samāgatāḥ (By.,
janapade hy udyānāni).
M., By., vi. 6. 6 .. trividhāḥ puruṣā loke uttamādhamanādhya-
māḥ.
vii. 86. 4 .. atha naṣṭe Sahasrākṣe udvignam abhavaj jagat
(M., Sahasrākṣa udvignam°).
vii. 36. 59 (M., 60) .. evam uktvā gatāḥ sarve ṛṣayas te yathāgatam.
i. 14. 25 .. ekaviṁśati yūpās te ekaviṁśaty aratnayāḥ
(M., °ta eka°).
iv. 5. 17 .. tvam vaṇasyo'pi hr̥dyo me ekaṁ duḥkham
sukham ca nau (M., °me hy ekaṁ).
M., By., vii. 30. 15 .. tatsthasyāmaratā, syān me eṣa me niścito
varah.
vii. 104. 4 .. vasa vā vira bhadram te evam āha pitāmahaḥ
(M., ta evam).

(t) Between -a and a-

M., By., vii. 53. 10

.. sa naṣṭām gām kṣudhārto vai anviṣams tatra
tatra ha..

(u) Between -ai and u-

ii. 21. 14

.. dātum icchati Kaikeyyai upasthitam idaṁ
velā.

(v) Between -o and other vowels

vi. 106. 17 (M., 107. 17) .. namo namaḥ sahasrāmśo Ādityāya namo
namaḥ.

vii. 91. 14 .. ṛṣayaś ca mahābāho āhūyantām tapodhanāḥ.

(w) Between -o (< -as) and other vowels

vii. 2. 33 .. piteva tapasā yukto abhavad Viśravā munih
(M., 34, °yukto hy abhavad).vii. 21. 19 .. gorasaṁ gopradātāro annaṁ caivānpadāyinaḥ
(M., °dātāro hy annam).i. 60. 34 .. tato devā mahātmāno ṛṣayaś ca tapodhanāḥ
(M., mahātmāno munayaś ca).K., iv. 11. 64 .. tataḥ śāpabhayaḍ bhīto Ṛṣyamūkam mahā-
girim (M., By., °bhīta Ṛṣyamūkam).

(C) Hiatus within a pāda

(a) Between -a and ā-

M., By., vii. 31. 10

.. Rāvaṇas tatra āgataḥ.

vii. 109. 4

.. brahma āvartayan param (M., brahman
āvartayan).

(b) Between -a and ī-

ii. 49. 13 (M., 14)

.. sūta ityeva cābhāṣya.

iv. 40. 5

.. koṭyoghāś ca ime prāptāḥ (M., koṭyagraśa ime).

M., By., v. 47. 35

.. mahoragaṁ grhya ivāṇḍajeśvara.

vii. 5. 40 (M., 42)

.. Kumbhinasī ca ity ete.

M., By., vii. 8. 1

.. velām etya ivārṇavaḥ.

vii. 14. 7

.. vyavardhata ivodadheḥ (M., sāgarasyeva
vardhataḥ).

vii. 28. 41 (M., 42)

.. citrakarma ivābhāti.

M., By., vii. 35. 42

.. Indra Indreti.

vii. 61. 19

.. sa vihāya imam lokam (M., 20, vihāya tv
imam).

M., By., vii. 90. 7

.. Kardamasya Ilaḥ sutaḥ.

M., By., vii. 90. 17

.. uvāca Ilaśannidhau.

M., By., vii. 107. 10

.. Vatsa Rāma imāḥ paśya.

M., By., vii. 107. 14

.. sarvān no-naya īśvara.

(c) Between -a and u-

iii. 49. 4

.. kāmārūpeṇa unmatte (M., kāmārūpiṇam un-
matte).

- iv. 25. 3 .. parañ karma upāsītum (M., karma śakyam upāsītum).
vii. 87. 22 .. praṇipatya Umām¹ devīm (M., praṇipatya hy Umām).
M., By., vii. 93. 2 .. cakāra utajān śubhān.

(d) Between -a and r-

- M., By., i. 2. 26 .. Vālmikaye ca ṛṣaye.
M., By., i. 9. 17 .. na gacchema ṛṣer bhītāḥ
i. 15. 22 .. siddhāms ca ṛṣisattamān (M., 21, °ca muni-)
i. 73. 18 (M., 19) .. kārayasva ṛṣe sarvam.
ii. 116. 25 .. Rāmaḥ saṁsādhyā ṛṣigaṇam (M., saṁsādhyā tv ṛṣigaṇam).
M., By., ii. 116. 25 .. abhivādya ṛṣim.
ii. 119. 6 .. agnihotre ca ṛṣiṇā (M., ṛṣiṇām agnihotreṣu).
M., By., iii. 73. 8 .. sarve ca ṛtavas tatra.
M., vii. 36. 39 .. sa ca Ṛkṣarajā nāma (By., tatas tv arkṣarajā).
vii. 36. 48 .. ete ca ṛkṣāḥ.
vii. 82. 15 .. abhivādya ṛṣiśreṣṭham (M., abhivādya muni°).
M., By., vii. 105. 2 .. uvāca ṛṣisattamaḥ.

(e) Between -ā and other vowels

- vi. 79. 30 .. hatvā aśvān apātayat (M., 38, rathāśvān samapātayat).
vii. 49. 5 .. ekā dinā anāthavat (M., dinā hy anāthavat).
M., By., i. 21. 7 .. dharmātmā iti.
v. 38. 38 (M., 40) .. anāthā iva dr̥ṣyate.
M., By., vi. 12. 28 .. khalu sā ihāhṛtā.
yi. 84. 7 .. hatā Indrajitā (M., °tām Indra°)
M., By., vii. 31. 36 .. Gaṅgā iva mahāgajaiḥ.
vii. 36. 36 .. tejasā iva bhāskaraḥ (M., 38, tejasā bhāskara-prabhaḥ).
vii. 67. 5 .. Māndhātā iti vikhyātaḥ (M., Māndhāteti sa vikhyātaḥ).
vii. 88. 9 .. dadarśa sā Ilā tasmin (M., sā tv Ilā).
iii. 40. 8 .. apāyam vā upāyam vā (M., °vāpy upāyam vā).
M., By., vi. 60. 12 .. na mīthyā ṛṣibhāsitam.
M., By., vii. 105. 5 .. tac chrutvā ṛṣisārdūlah.
vii. 56. 21 .. Urvaśyā evam uktas tu.
vii. 69. 28 (M., 29) .. eṣā eva.

(f) Between -ī and other vowels

- v. 20. 8 .. ekavenī adhaḥ śayyā (M., ekavenī dharā śayyā).
iv. 8. 5 .. tvayi ātmatātān guṇān (M., svayam ātma-gatān).
M., By., iii. 46. 3 .. śikhī chatrī upānahī.

(g) Between -ē and other vowels

- vi. 30. 8 .. balamadhye amaraṇaiḥ (M., balavadbhir amaraṇaiḥ).
vii. 57. 7 .. jajñe Ikṣvākuḍaivatam (M., jajñe cekṣvāku°).
M., By., vii. 88. 7 .. tasmin reme Ilā tadā.

kyam

a hy

uni-)

ya tv

ajā).

mi°).

śvān

at).

ara-

i sa

vā).

arā

ma-

ohir

°).

M., By., vii. 90. 23

ii. 63. 2

vii. 22. 2

i. 17. 31 (M., 32)

M., vii. 93. 2

Pratiṣṭhāne 'Ilo rājā.

āpede upaśargas tam (M., āviveśopasargas tam).

ratho me upanīyatām (M., ratho'yaṁ upanīyatām).

anye Rkṣavataḥ prsthān.

ekānte rṣivātānām (By., ekānta rṣisamghātaḥ).

(h) Between -o (<-as) and r

v. 58. 138 (M., 135)

.. vasato Rṣyamūke me.

(D) Avoidance of hiatus between two pādas

Hiatus even between two pādas has been avoided, almost invariably by the insertion of the particle *hi*, in quite a large number of cases even in the best preserved Southern recension of the Rā. But some of them show variants in the different editions of the same recension, and it seems that with a few probable exceptions (e.g. between 'o <-as and a' at i. 34. 21, ii. 2. 28, ii. 44. 15, iv. 32. 18, iv. 46. 22, vi. 18. 12, vi. 71. addl. 2 after 95, vii. 8. 29, vii. 25. 23, vii. 51. 17, vii. 92. 9, etc.), almost all of them contained hiatus in the original Rāmāyaṇa. Such cases, collected from the By. edition of the Rā., are:—

i. 24. 31

ii. 2. 28

ii. 13. 2

ii. 15. 8

ii. 16. 4

ii. 44. 15

ii. 50. 42

ii. 99. 42

ii. 108. 2

ii. 109. 20

ii. 118. 1

iii. 11. 71

iii. 63. 7

iii. 64. 59

iii. 70. 5

iv. 1. 7

iv. 2. 20

.. na hi kaścid imaṁ śakto hy āgantum iḍṣam.

.. Ikṣvākubhyo'pi sarvebhyo hy atirikto viśāmpate.

.. anartharūpā'siddhārthā hy abhītā bhayadarśinī.

.. rājñāḥ sampratibuddhasya cānāgamanakāraṇāt.

.. sahasotpatitāḥ sarve hy āsanebhyāḥ sasambhramāḥ.

.. sūryasyāpi bhavet sūryo hy agner agniḥ prabhoḥ prabhuḥ.

.. diṣṭyā tvāṁ Guha paśyāmi hy arogaṁ saha bāndhavaiḥ.

.. vanaukasas te'bhisamikṣya sarve tv aśrūṇy amūñcan pravihāya haṣam.

.. prākṛtasyeva narasya hy āryabuddhes' tapasvināḥ.

.. kṣātram dharmam ahaṁ tyakṣye hy adharmaṁ dharmaśamhitam.

.. sā tv evaṁ uktā Vaidehī tv anasūyārasūyayā.

.. bhrātaram tam Agastyasya hy āmantrayata Rāghavaḥ.

.. sā nūnam āryā mama rākṣaseṇa hy abhyāhṛtā khaṁ samupetya bhīruḥ.

.. asampātāṁ kariṣyāmi hy adya trailokya-cārinam.

.. lokam hy atijitam kṛtvā hy āvām hantūm ihecchāti.

.. nalinair api samchannā hy atyarthasubha-darśanā.

.. kasya na syād bhayaṁ diṣṭvā hy etau sūrasūtopamau.

iv. 9. 10	..	..	tasmīn dravati santraste <i>hy</i> āvām drutataram gatau.
iv. 12. 14	..	..	vrkṣair ātmānam tvṛtya <i>hy</i> atīṣṭhan gāhaṇe vane.
iv. 14. 1	..	..	tām āśuvegena durāsadena <i>tv</i> abhiplutām śokamahārṇavena.
iv. 15. 17	..	..	tvarā guṇavati yuktā <i>hy</i> asmin kāle viśeṣataḥ.
iv. 32. 18	..	..	niyuktair mantribhir vācyo <i>hy</i> avāśyam pārthivo hi tam.
iv. 38. 33	..	..	nihatya Rāvaṇam yuddhe <i>hy</i> ānayaṣyanti Maithilim.
iv. 46. 22	..	..	Mataṅgena tadā śapto <i>hy</i> asminn āśrama- maṇḍale.
iv. 58. 13	..	..	devāsuravimardānś ca <i>hy</i> amṛtasya viman- thanam.
v. 13. 67	..	..	drakṣye tad āryāvadanam kadā <i>nv</i> ahaṁ tārādhipatulyavarcaśam.
v. 27. 14	..	..	tatas tasya nagasyāgre <i>hy</i> ākāśasthasya dan- tinaḥ.
v. 51. 13	..	..	dikṣu sarvāsu mārgante <i>hy</i> adhaś copari cāmbare.
vi. 13. 16	..	..	naitad Dāśarathir veda <i>hy</i> āśādayati tena mām.
vi. 18. 12	..	..	yas tu doṣas tvayā prokto <i>hy</i> ādāne' ribaleśya ca.
vi. 19. 18	..	..	ākhyātāni ca tattvena <i>hy</i> avagacchāmi tāny aham.
vi. 22. 53	..	..	sūtrāny anye pragrṇanti <i>hy</i> āyataṁ śata- yojanam.
vi. 22. 73	..	..	tam acintyam asahyam ca <i>hy</i> adbhutam lomaharṣaṇam (M. 78, °ca adbhutam).
vi. 35. 13	..	..	adharṁ rakṣasām pakṣo <i>hy</i> asurāṇām ca rākṣasa. (Similar hiatus has been preserved in the previous half-śloka of the same verse.)
vi. 47. 10	..	..	avekṣya vinivṛtā sā cānyām gatim apaśyati.
vi. 59. 4	..	..	saṁkampayan nāgaśiro'bhyupaiti <i>hy</i> Akampa- nam tv enam avehi rājan.
vi. 71. addl. verse 2 after 95.	..	..	muhūrtamātram nihsamjño <i>hy</i> abhavac chatru- tāṇaḥ.
vi. 94. 11	..	..	evam pravṛtte saṁgrāme <i>hy</i> adbhutam suma- had rajah.
vi. 125. 18	..	..	stribhiḥ parivṛtāḥ sarve <i>hy</i> Ayodhyām yāntu Sītayā.
vi. 130. 39	..	..	vānarāṇām ca tat karma <i>hy</i> ācacakṣe'tha mantrinām.
vii. 8. 26	..	..	rākṣasān hantum utpanno <i>hy</i> ajayyaḥ prabhur avyayaḥ.
vii. 21. 23	..	..	sukham āpur muhūrtam te <i>hy</i> atarkitam acintitam.
vii. 25. 23	..	..	pitā jyeṣṭho jananyā no <i>hy</i> asmākaṁ cāryako'- bhavāt.
vii. 32. 11	..	..	savyetarakarāṅgulyā <i>hy</i> aśabdāśyo Daśāṇaḥ.
vii. 35. 20	..	..	tasya bhāryā balhūveṣṭā <i>hy</i> Añjaneti-parīśrutā.
vii. 35. 23	..	..	dadarśa phalalobhāc ca <i>hy</i> utpāpāta ravim prati.

- vii. 47. 11 .. śrutvā pariśado madhye *hy* apavādaṁ sudā-
runam.
vii. 51. 17 .. tapasārādhito devo *hy* abravīd bhaktavatsalaḥ.
vii. 62. 12 .. āryeṇa hi purā śūnyā *tv* Ayodhyā paripālītā.
vii. 92. 9 .. evaṁ suvihito yajño *hy* aśvaṁ nedho *hy*
avartata.
vii. 96. 5 (alt. rdg.) .. Kātyāyanah Suyajñas ca *hy* Agastyas tapasām
nidhiḥ.
vii. 97. 22 .. evaṁ bahuvidhā vaco *hy* antarīkṣāgatān surān.
vii. 99. 11 .. anurañjanti rājāno *hy* ahany ahani Rāghavam.
vii. 109. 10 .. taṁ yāntam anugacchanti *hy* āntaḥpuracarāḥ
striyaḥ.

In a few cases, e.g. vii. 42. 24, vii. 51. 12, etc., hiatus has been avoided by the insertion of the preposition *ni* and it is difficult to determine whether this preposition formed a part of the original Rā. or not.

ADDENDA

A few more cases of irregular sandhi and hiatus found in the By. recension, but omitted in the main article through inadvertence, are given below:—

IRREGULAR SANDHI

- By., i. 32. 21 .. nāvamanya (for no' vamanya, a variant cited by the commentator Rāma and styled by him as 'apapāṭha').
By., iii. 13. 12 .. tatōvāca vacaḥ śubham (Govindarāja, followed by M., reads: dhīro dhīrataram vacaḥ).
By., iii. 71. 20 .. mitraṁ ca vōpadekṣyāmi (M., °caivopadekṣyāmi).

IRREGULAR HIATUS

Between two pādas

Between a and ā

- By., iii. 36. 4 .. vasanti manniyogena adhvīśam ca rākṣasaḥ
(Govinda, followed by M., °niyogena nityavāśam).
By., iv. 65. 2 .. Maindaś ca Dvidiś. caiva āṅgado Jāmbavāns
tathā (M., °caiva Suśeṇa).
By., iv. 19. 28 (M., 27) .. supteṇa punar utthāya āryaputreti vādinī.
By., v. 13. 30 .. °duḥkhena abhibhūtā (M., 32, duḥkhena *hy* ādhi°).
By., v. 50. 18 .. °kāryeṇa āgato'smi (M., kāryeṇa samprāpto'smi).

Between ā and other vowels

- By., ii. 63. 34 .. tasyāhaṁ karuṇaṁ śrutvā °rṣer viśapato niśi (M.,
°śrutvā lālapato bahu). (From the two readings it seems that originally the second half of the verse was probably °rṣer lālapato niśi).
By., iv. 20. 26 .. vyavasyata prāyam anindyavarṇā upopaveṣṭum
bhāvi yatra Vāli (M., °prāyam upopaveṣṭum
anindyavarṇā).
By., v. 13. 49 (M. 51) .. athavañam samutksipya uparyupari sāgaram.
M., vii. 76. 40 .. °vinā rājñā eṣa me niścayaḥ parah.

Between e and other vowels

- By., ii. 14. 65 .. vyaktam Rāmābhiṣekārthe ihāyāsyati dharinarāt
(M., 66, 'śekārtham ihāyāsyati). Bl. K. Jh.
By., ii. 54. 1 .. te tu tasmin mahāvṛkṣe uṣitvā rajanīm śubhām
(M., vṛkṣa uṣitvā).
M., By., vii. 100. 18.. niveśya te puravare ātmajau sanniveśya ca. of ha Bl.,

Between ai and ā

- By., iii. 43. 3 .. āgacchāgaccha śighram vai āryaputra sahānuja.
(This verse is not found in M.)

Within a pāda

- i. 70. 19; ii. 110. 5 .. śāśvato nitya avyayaḥ
By., iii. 35. 41 .. tūṛṇam eva ihāgataḥ. Bl.,
By., v. 54. 25 (M. 26) kapiṛūpeṇa hā iti. Bl.,

IRREGULAR SANDHI IN THE BENGALI RECENSION (Bl.) OF THE
RĀMĀYAṆA (CALCUTTA SANSKRIT SERIES EDITION)

Note.—Gorresio's edition is indicated by Bl. Ka and MSS. by Bl. Kha, Ga, Gha, Ņa, Ca, etc.

Northern India has always remained a great centre of Classical Sanskrit poetry and, as such, every attempt was made there to regularize, as far as practicable, the un-Pāṇinian forms found in the epics. As a result of this tampering with the original epic language of the Rā., the Bl. recension shows only a few cases of irregular sandhi, including the variants found in the MSS. As against about 90 cases of irregular sandhi in the By. recension, the Bl. recension shows only about 38 cases. Of them Bl. ii. 17. 27 (apra-jāsmīti), iii. 54. 14 (Rāmēti), iv. 5. 15 (hā priyēti), iv. 52. 40 (praviśāmēti—twice in Bl. and M., but once in By.), iv. 60. 8 (ugratapābhavat), v. 2. 14 (apsarāpasarasām), v. 15. 12 (sōpāsarpāt), v. 34. 20 (hā priyēty evam), v. 59. 20 (sarakṣaughām), vi. 78. 1 (sarasīva), vii. 35. 7 (ahō'tibalavad), vii. 38. 3 (ahō'sya), and vii. 40. 18 (dhārayan aprameyah) correspond to By., ii. 20. 37, iii. 47. 11, iv. 6. 17, iv. 52. 13, iv. 60. 8, iv. 68. 8, v. 10. 12, v. 36. 45, v. 60. 10, vi. 98. 1, vii. 27. 7, vii. 30. 3 and vii. 36. 44 respectively. Those cases of irregular sandhi, which have no corresponding forms in the By. recension, are given below:—

1. Irregular vowel sandhi

(a) Double sandhi

- Bl., iii. 79. 19 .. kaccit tēndriyasamyamah.
Bl., v. 32. 51 .. dhriyatēti Rāmam.
Bl., v. 34. 23 .. priyēti hā.
Bl. Cha., vii. 103. 12 sādhu Sītēti (variant: Sīte sādhu iti).

(b) Sandhi with Praghyā vowels

- Bl., ii. 12. 29 .. ahō'dyānuḡhitāḥ.
Bl., vi. 41. 12 .. ahō'sya sadṛśaṇ sakhyam.
Bl., vi. 111. 24 .. ahō'dbhutam.

(c) Miscellaneous

Bl. Ka, Gha, Na, Cha, abhyupetum (variant: abhyupaitum).
Jha, Ḍa, iii. 53. 7.

2. Irregular consonant sandhi

One rather remarkable case of irregular consonant sandhi, a resultant of haplology or, more probably, of apocope, is found at
Bl., iv. 9. 99 .. Hānumādibhiḥ (for Hanumadādibhiḥ; cf. prṣodara for *prṣadudara).

3. Double sandhi of visarga

(a) Double sandhi of -as and ā

Bl., vii. 23. 9 .. idam Viśravasâtmaja.
Bl., vii. 38. 47 .. (Com.'s reading) sô'ryakeṇa (for sa āryakeṇa; variant: svāryakeṇa).

(b) Double sandhi of -as and i

Bl., iii. 56. 18 .. rākṣasêti samudvegam.
Bl., iv. 10. 32 .. gaccha rakṣêti.
Bl., vi. 40. 50; vii. 31. 42 .. rakṣêndro° (Cf. Bengali, tejendra, etc.)
Bl., vii. 64. 52 .. Brahmadattêti nāmnaiṣaḥ.

(c) Double sandhi between -as and u

Bl., iii. 81. 31 .. padmapuṣparajônmiśraḥ (may be a case of transfer of rajas to raja).
Bl., iv. 10. 26 .. sôttare vāry upāsprśat.
Bl. Cha., vii. 64. 21 .. acakṣuṣôttamān cakṣuḥ (variant: acakṣuṣo hi tvam).

(d) Double sandhi between -ās and a

Bl. Gha., i. 12. 6 .. khanakâpi ca (variant: khanakā api).
Bl., iii. 32. 32 .. sahitābhyadravan (Na, Ḍa, sahitā hy adravan).
Bl., vi. 37. 79 .. hṛṣṭamanâbhavat.
Bl., vi. 49. 35 .. vāryamānâpi harayaḥ.
Bl., vi. 51. 104 .. trastābhavan.
Bl., vi. 77. 9 .. sarve yūthādhipâbhavan.

(e) Double sandhi between -ās and ā

Bl. Na., i. 18. 11 .. narâśu samupāgaman (variant: narāstam).

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**SOME NOVEL SYMBOLS ON THE PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN THE
CABINET OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL**

By SUNIL CHANDRA RAY, M.A.

(Communicated by S. K. Saraswati)

(Received October 9, 1949)

While arranging the coins in the Cabinet of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, I noticed several new symbols on the obverse of some of the punch-marked silver coins. I take this opportunity to present them before the learned members of the Society.

One of the most interesting stamps, which invariably occurs on punch-marked coins, is a sort of six-armed symbol, usually made up of two or three arrow-heads alternating with a taurine, a dumb-bell and some other designs. Different varieties of the so-called six-armed symbol have already been noted and classified by distinguished numismatists like Spooner, Theobald, Walsh, Allan, Durgaprasad, Bhattacharya and others.

As early as 1890, Theobald observed (J.A.S.B., 1890) 9 varieties of six-armed symbols on the punch-marked coins of Ancient India. Subsequent discoveries and examinations revealed several other types of such symbols and when in the year 1936 Allan published his Catalogue of coins of Ancient India in the B. M. Collection, he noted as many as 14 variants of it. The distinguished numismatist of the British Museum also declared that the finds which were published and illustrated in different journals or works up to the time of the publication of his catalogue, contained no symbol unrepresented in the Museum collection of the p-m. coins; but the Golakpur (Patna) hoard published by Walsh in the J.B.O.R.S., 1919 contained types of symbols unrepresented in the British Museum. But so far as the six-armed symbol was concerned the Patna find contained only one variety and this was already represented in the B. M. Catalogue.

Durgaprasad's well-illustrated article on the classification and significance of the symbols on the silver p-m. coins of Ancient India, published in the Numismatic Supplement of J.A.S.B., 1934, was an interesting one. The plates accompanying this article showed 15 types of different six-armed symbols on the p-m. coins found throughout India in addition to those presented by Allan.

A hoard of punch-marked coins from Taxila was published, with detailed descriptions by Walsh, in the year 1938 in the Memoir of the A.S.B., No. 59. The six-armed symbols found on the older coins of Taxila contained 11 new varieties in addition to those already published.

Shortly after the publication of Walsh's memoir, a hoard of silver punch-marked coins from Purnea was elaborately described with illustrations by P. N. Bhattacharya in the M.A.S.I., No. 62. The six-armed symbols found on these coins were as many as 28 of which 13 symbols were unlike the previous ones.

The punch-marked coins in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal contain three new and unpublished varieties of this symbol. The first is a circle with a pellet in the centre; around the circle are six-arms, three of which are arrow-heads which alternate with a crescent-topped standard. This variety can be clearly recognized on four specimens. (See Fig. 1.)

Another interesting variety appears on one coin only. Unfortunately part of it only appears on the coin. The four arms which are visible

consist of an arrow, the petal of a flower or a leaf, a crescent on a standard and a small circular object,—all attached to a circle round a pellet. (See Fig. 2.)

Another symbol which was possibly a six-armed one, but of which only three arms are visible, represents an arrow, a dumb-bell and a combination of two circles—all connected with a circle round a pellet. This symbol is present on one coin only. (See Fig. 3.)

A fourth new design on the punch-marked coins of the Society is a circle round a pellet or circlet, surmounted by taurines and small semi-circles; a larger circle surrounding the whole object. (See Fig. 4.) It may be mentioned that a wheel surmounted by taurines and small crescents, which appears on several coins found at Taxila is very similar to this design, (see *Mem. A.S.I.*, 56, pl. I-58a) and only after a close examination the difference existing between them may be noted. Symbol 4 appears on three specimens.

Besides the four new varieties of symbols mentioned above, there is another novel design—triple arrow standing on a line. (See Fig. 5.) This symbol, closely related to a symbol of three arrows standing on a semi-circle, known from other varieties, occurs only on a single specimen.

The provenance of these punch-marked coins cannot be traced. But from stylistic consideration it appears that those which bear the symbol No. 4, might possibly have been deposited in or around Taxila.

It is not possible to interpret definitely the significance of the new types of symbols found on these coins, since there is no agreement of opinion among scholars regarding the meaning of the punch-marks themselves.

D. B. Spooner once opined that many of these symbols were Buddhist in character (*A.S.I.A.R.*, 1905-06, pp. 151ff.). Later on, he changed his opinion and suggested that most of the symbols were Zoroastrian (*J.R.A.S.*, 1915, pp. 411-13).

D. R. Bhandarkar thought that most of these represented the seven jewels, *Sapta ratnāni*, viz. *hastī*, *aśva*, *ratha*, *maṇi*, *śtrī*, *grhapati* and *pari-nāyaka*—the insignia of an Indian Chakravartin empowered to issue coins (*A.S.I.A.R.*, 1913-14, p. 211), whereas Durgaprasad tried to explain them as Tantric in character (*J.A.S.B.*, 1934, *Num. Suppl.*, XLV, pp. 16-55).

According to Allan many of the symbols are simple and taken from the animal and plant world, while others are quite unintelligible and some may be conventionalized form of pictographic symbols (*Intr. B. M. Cat. of Ancient Indian Coins*, p. xxiii).

The suggestion that many of the punch-marks are religious in character (Coomaraswamy—*Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 43-45; Banerjee—*Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 120) seems to be the most probable one, in the present state of our knowledge, specially if we remember the religious and cult associations of the various devices and symbols on tribal coins and other later coins. The new punch-marks found in the coins of the Society may also have had some religious and cult significance attached to them.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

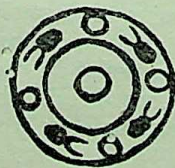


FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.

KNOWLEDGE OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS CONCERNING FISH AND FISHERIES OF INDIA

2. FISHERY LEGISLATION IN ASOKA'S PILLAR EDICT V (246 B.C.)¹

By SUNDAR LAL HORA, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., C.M.Z.S., F.R.A.S.B., F.N.I.,
 Director, Zoological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta

(Received March 6, 1950)

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INTRODUCTION

Though this is the second² article of the series started in 1948, in fact this is the fourth³ article in which a critical review is given of the knowledge of ancient Hindus concerning the fish and fisheries of India. Dr. B. C. Law's financial assistance enabled the writer to engage some Oriental scholars for collating references to fish and fisheries in ancient Hindu literature in order to write this series of articles, but I regret it has not been possible for me to devote much time to this work in spite of the fact that a considerable amount of partly digested material is now available for my study.

In the present article, an attempt is made to elucidate the significance and importance of the injunctions laid down by Asoka concerning the catching of fish in his benevolent laws. I have made every attempt to complete this article as a dedication to the Republic of India when it comes into existence on the 26th January, 1950, for it seems to me that we may

¹ I am grateful to Dr. B. C. Law for giving me the correct date of the Pillar Edict V. Asoka ascended the throne in 272 B.C. (*vide* V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 206-207). The Pillar Edict V was put up when he had ruled for 26 years.

² For the first article on 'References to Fish in Arthashastra (ca. 300 B.C.)' see *J.R.A.S.B. Sci.*, XIV, pp. 7-10 (1948).

³ For the two earlier articles see 'Ancient Hindu Conception of Correlation between Form and Locomotion of Fishes', *J.R.A.S.B. Sci.*, I, pp. 1-7 (1935) and 'Sanskrit Names of Fish and their Significance', *J.R.A.S.B. Sci.*, XIV, pp. 1-6 (1948).

have to go back to the Asokan period, not only for an Emblem of *Chakra* on our National Flag and Asoka's Capital *Motif* for the official seal but also for the conduct of our day-to-day life.

ASOKA AND HIS INSCRIPTIONS

In order to supply the necessary background for the readers of this article, Shri S. K. Saraswati¹, Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, very kindly supplied to me the following note concerning Asoka and his Inscriptions:—

'The main sources of our knowledge about Asoka and his activities fall into two categories—Literary and Archaeological. Of these, the latter, consisting of Asoka's own inscriptions, constitutes the direct source of his history. In his inscriptions the king is styled as *Devānāmpīya Piyadasi rājā (lājā)*, i.e., 'King Priyādarsi, the beloved of the gods'. The identity of this king with Asoka, suggested long ago, has been proved beyond doubt by the discovery of the Maski version of the minor Rock edicts which substitutes the name Asoka for Piyadasi.

Inscriptions of Asoka have been found engraved on rocks, separate stone block, stone pillars and in caves. Except the last they have been designated as *dhammalipis* translated as "edicts of the law of piety (morality)". Those on rocks have been divided into three broad categories:

- (a) Fourteen Rock Edicts in seven or eight (if the Sopara version of the Edict VIII is taken to imply the existence of thirteen others at that place) recensions.
- (b) Two Rock Edicts separately incised at Dhauri and Jaugada, each in two recensions.
- (c) One minor Rock Edict in ten recensions.

Of the inscription on stone block, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has the Calcutta-Bairat Edict enumerating the sacred texts of the doctrine.

The Pillar inscriptions fall into two groups:

- (a) Seven Pillar Edicts, the first six in six recensions with the seventh on the Delhi-Topra pillar.
- (b) Minor Pillar Edicts—
 1. One schism Edict in three recensions.
 2. Queen's Edict in one recension.
 3. Two votive or commemorative pillar inscriptions.

These inscriptions are of outstanding interest for a study of Asoka as herein we can trace the successive stages of the working and outpourings of the mind of Asoka, who has been regarded as 'one of the greatest personalities of world history.'

ASOKA'S PILLAR EDICT V

Asoka's Pillar Edict V, which shows his *Dhammaniyama* or regulation of piety, has been found without any textual variation from six places, namely, Topra (90 kos from Delhi on the direct line between Ambala and Sirsa); Mirat, U.P.; Radhia (= Lauriya), Champaran Dist., N. Bihar; Mathia, 15 miles N.W. of Betiya, Champaran Dist., N. Bihar; Rampurva, 32 miles N.W. of Betiya, Champaran Dist., N. Bihar and Kosam, Allahabad, Dist., U.P. It deals with the regulations for the protection of many varieties of animals and the following is its free translation after Hultzsch²:—

'King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus:

(When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, the following animals were declared by me inviolable, viz. parrots, mainas, the *aruṇa*, ruddy geese, wild geese, the *nandi*—

¹ I wish to record here my sincere thanks to Mr. Saraswati for his help in elucidating several unintelligible points in the translations of Asoka's Inscriptions.

² Hultzsch, R.—Inscriptions of Asoka in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, I, p. 128-925).

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nukha, the *gelāta*, bats, quē n-ants, terrapins, boneless fish, the *vedaveyake*, the *gaṅgāpuputaka*, skate-fish, tortoises and porcupines, squirrels (?), the *śrīmāra*, bulls set at liberty, iguanas (?), the rhinoceros, white doves, domestic doves, (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.

Those (she-goats), ewes, and sows (which are) either with young or in milk, are inviolable, and also those (of their) young ones (which are) less than six months old.

Cocks must not be caponed.

Husks containing living animals must not be burnt.

Forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy (living beings).

Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals.

Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chāturmāsīs (and) on the Tishyā full-moon during three days, (*viz.*) the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (*tithi*), and invariably on every fast-day.

And during these same days also no other classes of animals which are in the elephant-park (and) in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.

On the eighth (*tithi*) of (every) fortnight, on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tishyā, on Purnāvasu, on the three Chāturmāsīs, (and) on festivals, bulls must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams, boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise), must not be castrated (then).

On Tishyā, on Purnāvasu, on the Chāturmāsīs, (and) during the fortnight of (every) Chāturmāsī, horses (and) bullocks must not be branded.

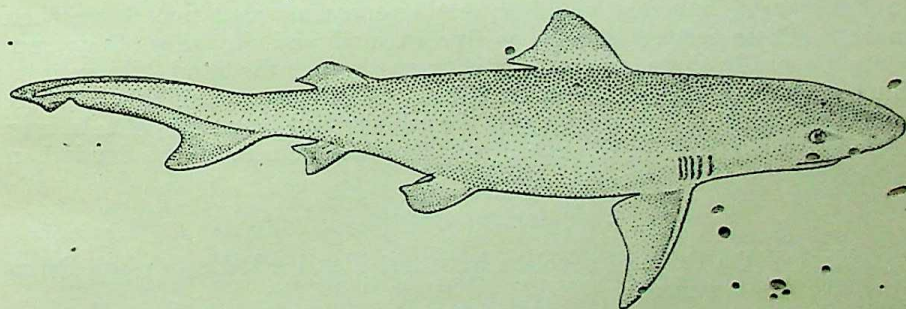
Until (I had been) anointed twenty-six years, in this period the release of prisoners was ordered by me twenty-five (times).'

Five varieties of fish or fish-like animals are included in this Edict. I shall discuss here the probable identity of these fishes as there is a considerable controversy among Oriental scholars on this point. Throughout this article, I shall refer to the translation and glossary as given by Barua¹, the most recent work on the subject. The five species of fish in this Pillar Edict are (i) *Anāthikamachhe*, (ii) *Vedaveyake*, (iii) *Gaṅgāpuputake*, (iv) *Samkujamachhe*, and (v) *Kaphatasayake*. I shall consider each one of these separately, but as a general background it must be remembered that the ancient Hindus 'knew a great deal about the external features and habits of a variety of freshwater fishes of the Indo-Gangetic Plain' (Hora, *op. cit.*, p. 6, 1948).

IDENTIFICATION OF FISHES

Anāthikamachhe

Literally meaning 'the boneless fish'. The Oriental commentators have surmised it to mean 'The prawns or shrimps, the jelly-fish, and the



TEXT-FIG. 1.—*Anāthikamachhe*, the boneless fish = a Shark.

Lateral view of the Gangetic Shark, *Carcharhinus gangeticus* (Müll. & Henle).

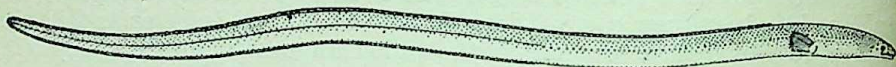
star-fish are typical examples of boneless or invertebrate fishes' (*Anāthikamatsya*). From a scientific point of view, there is lot of confusion of

¹ Barua, B. M.—*Inscriptions of Asoka*. Part II, Translation, Glossary, and General Index, pp. 358–374 (University of Calcutta, 1943).

thought in the above commentary. Vertebrates or broadly speaking Chordates, some of which are worm-like (*Balnoglossus*) or jelly-fish-like (Ascidians) animals, are distinguished from the invertebrates by the possession of (i) a dorsal tubular nervous system as opposed to a ventral solid nervous system, (ii) a dorsal supporting rod, the notochord, which is replaced by vertebrae in the vertebrates, and (iii) perforated pharynx for respiration. Among fishes, there are two main divisions, Cartilaginous or Boneless fishes (Elasmobranchii) and Bony fishes (Teleostei). In the former category are included the Sharks, Rays, and Skates. In their general appearance, Skates are not fish-like and are, therefore, mentioned separately in this Pillar Edict. Knowing the keen power of observation and precision of thought of the ancient Hindus, I feel convinced that in *Anathikamachhe* reference is made to Sharks, some of which ascend rivers for considerable distances into fresh waters.

Vedaveyake

According to Barua (p. 358), 'The name is a matronymic from *vedavā*, Sk. *vidravā*, meaning something "easily eluding the grasp" (Dr. B. C. Law informs me that 'some think of something without a hood, eel'). He comments that 'In the alternative, the name may be equated with *vijapilaka*, which means eels or eel-like fishes that live in mud (*paṁkagāḍakāḥ*, *brahmī*), probably the cylindrical snake-headed eels prohibited in the law books'. His second comment is that 'Assuming that *Vedaveyake* is a scribe's error for *Chedaveyake*, the intended fish may be identified with *Chitravallika* or *pāṭhina* (*silurus boalis*, a sheet-fish).'



TEXT-FIG. 2.—*Vedaveyake*, something easily eluding grasp = an Eel.

Lateral view of the common estuarine eel of the Gangetic Delta, *Pisodonophis boro* (Hamilton).

When discussing the general implications of this law, I shall show that the *Boali* sheet-fish (*Wallago attu*), a prized food fish, could not be intended in *Vedaveyake*, but eels would correctly represent what may have been meant. These serpent-like fishes live in mud and are very slimy and, therefore, easily elude the grasp by slipping through the hand. There is an English proverb also to the same effect—'as slippery as an eel'. Those, who may wish to know more about the ecology and bionomics of eels, may see two articles¹ published in the *Journal* on the Boro-eel of the Sundarban estuaries.

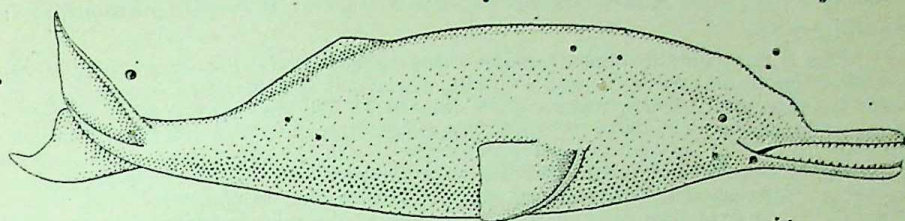
Gaṁgāpupūtake

Most of the Oriental scholars have not identified this fish but Barua (pp. 358-359) comments:

'The Sanskrit equivalent of *pupūtake* is either *puppuṭaka*, *kukkuṭaka* or *pipṭaka*. Presumably this is the name of a kind of fish. Had it been the name of a bird, it would

¹ Hora, S. L.—A note on the Biology of the Precipitating Action of the Mucus of Boro Fish, *Pisodonophis boro* (Ham.). *J.A.S.B.* (N.S.) XXIX, pp. 271-274 (1923); Raychaudhuri, S. and Majumdar, B.—A note on the Chemistry of the Precipitating Action of Slime Water obtained from Boro Fish, *Pisodonophis boro* (Ham.). *J.A.S.B.* (N.S.) XXIX, pp. 275-283 (1933).

have been easy to identify the *gaṅgāpupputake* with *gaṅgākukkutake*, *gaṅgāchilli*, *jala-kukūṭi*, *gaṅgchil* or black-headed gull. If it be the name of a fish, as it undoubtedly seems to be, there is nothing in Pali, Prakrit or Sanskrit to correspond to it. In



TEXT-FIG. 3.—*Gaṅgāpupputakē*, fish-like creature having a lumpy body = the Gangeic Dolphin.

Lateral view of the Freshwater Indian Dolphin, *Platynista gangetica*.

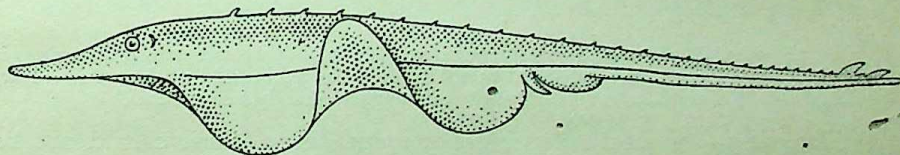
Sanskrit the name *gaṅgāteya* is applied to prawns or shrimps. The word *pupputake* may be taken to mean a fish or fish-like creature having a swollen or lumpy body, and this may lead one to think of porpoises. And *gaṅgākukkutake* may be taken to mean the flying fish. The word *pipitake* means something which is terribly hungry and thirsty. But this leads us nowhere.

I think in the identification of this animal, the meaning of the word *pupputakā* as a fish-like creature having a swollen or lumpy body is very significant. In the general context of this law, I feel almost certain that it refers to the Indian freshwater porpoise, *Platynista gangetica*.

Samkujamachhe

The literal translation of the above name would be a 'Contracting fish' (Sanskrit: *Sam Kuc* or Contract), but Barua (p. 359) in his comments states

'The appropriateness of this rendering is open to doubt. The Amarakosha-Tīkā applies the name *samkocha* to an aquatic animal (*jala-jantu*) called *śaṅku* in the Amarakosha, Pātālavarga, while in Bengali the skate fish is called *śākach*. The skate is just a species of ray fish (flat and cartilaginous) allied to shark. In Chittagong dialect,



TEXT-FIG. 4.—*Samkujamachhe*, a contracting fish = a Skate.

Showing wave motion in the fins of a Skate (after Breder).

The fish is capable of moving by wave-like contracting and expanding movements of the fins themselves. The waves travel at right angles to the longitudinal axis of the body.

the name *hānach* (*śākach*) applies to a flat, circular, lumpy in the upper part and whip-tailed variety of ray fish. Monmohan Chakravarti draws attention to *śānkuchi* in the Bhojprabandha.

The movement of a ray is by the alternate contraction and expansion of its body as shown in the accompanying illustration and I think in this name reference is made to skates and rays, some of which ascend into fresh waters for long distances. The name indicates that the ancient Hindus were fully conversant with the mode of locomotion adopted by skates and rays in moving from one place to another.

found in our fresh waters. They possess a hide-like skin beset with porcupine like spines and when irritated or in danger swell up like a balloon and float upside down feigning death. Probably the fish referred to is the common Gangetic form *Tetraodon cutcutia* Hamilton.

SIGNIFICANCE OF PROTECTION

From the above discussion, it seems probable that the species of fish referred to in the Pillar Edict V belong to the following kinds:—

1. *Anāthikamachhe* = Sharks, boneless fishes.
2. *Vedaveyake* = Eels, fishes easily eluding grasp.
3. *Gaṁgāpuputake* = Porpoise, fish-like animal with a lumpy body.
4. *Samkujamachhe* = Skate or Ray, fishes moving by contracting and expanding their bodies.
5. *Kāphaṭasayake* = Globe-fish, fish like a porcupine and feigning death when in danger.

These varieties of animals are declared inviolable under the law and we shall now seek the reason why. Barua (p. 355) gives the following explanation:—

‘Although motivated by the spirit of *ahimsā* or *avihimsā*, Asoka’s was not an idealistic or utopian scheme, which was not enforceable under the law. He was guided in this matter, particularly with reference to all quadrupeds, by this two-fold consideration: *ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati*, “that do not come into man’s use, nor are eaten by men”.’

It will be seen from the above that Asoka’s purpose was to put a stop to unnecessary killing or torture of undesirable creatures. Even judged by modern religious beliefs among the Hindus, when several old traditional practices have crumbled down already, there is a strong prejudice against eating the flesh of the five varieties of animals enumerated above. There are, however, sound reasons in certain cases. For instance, Globe-fishes and their allies are poisonous and should not be eaten. Unless properly treated, the flesh of Sharks, Rays, and Skates is bitter to taste and gritty on account of the deposition of uric acid crystals in their flesh. The Gangetic Porpoise is revered among the Hindus of the Indo-Gangetic Plain and its flesh is not eaten. With the exception of certain parts of South India, eels are not eaten on account of their strong resemblance to snakes. It would thus appear that the present-day prejudices of not eating these fishes are as old as the Asoka period. The law seems to have been enacted to prevent people from eating these harmful or undesirable animals. It is absolutely correct, therefore, to say that those animals were declared inviolable which ‘do not come into man’s use, nor are eaten by men’.

Barua (pp. 362-363) gives general rules laid down in the law-books of the Hindus for the guidance of the Brahmins in the matter of eating fish as follows:—

‘As for fishes, Vasishṭha and Āpastamba allow all but the *chēṭa*. Bodhāyana permits the eating of the *silurus boalis*, the fish called *chilichima* (popularly known as *vāliyā*), the *varmī*, the *maṣakari*, the *rohita* (*cyprinus rohita*), and the *rājīva*. In the opinion of Manu (V, 16), the *pāthina* (*silurus boalis*) and the *rohita* may be eaten, if used for offering to the gods or to the *manes*, while the *rājīva* (those marked with lines), the *sinhatuṇḍa* (lion-beaked) and the *saṣalka* (those having fins and scales) may be eaten on all occasions. The law-books prohibit the fishes that are misshapen. Āpastamba forbids also those which are snake-headed and those which live on flesh only.’

Even judged by the above-noted injunctions, Eels, Skates, Rays, and Globe-fishes should not be eaten as they are misshapen while Shark eats flesh only and, therefore, its eating is forbidden.

ASOKA'S FISHERY LEGISLATION

Having declared certain undesirable species as inviolable, Asoka then legislates for the conservation of the desirable species as a whole.

Hultzsch's¹ free translation of the relevant passage may be reiterated here for the sake of convenience:

'Fish are inviolable and must not be sold on the three *Chāturmāsīs*,² (and) on the Tishyā full moon, during three days, viz. the fourteenth, fifteenth, and the first tithi and invariably on every fast day.'

'And during these same days no other classes of animals which are in the elephant park and the preserves of the fishermen must be killed.'

Buhler² rendered this passage as:

'At the (full moon of each) of the three seasons and at the full moon of *Taisha* or *Pausha* fish shall neither be killed nor sold during three days, viz. the 14th, 15th, and the first of the following fortnight, nor constantly on each fast day.'

According to Buhler:

'*Chāturmāsī* is the full moon of each term of season of four months (summer, rains and winter) and it is not possible to decide with certainty which full moons are meant. They may be those of *Phālguna*, *Āshāḍha* and *Kārttika* or those of *Chaitra*, *Śrāvaṇa*, and *Mārgaśīrsha*.'

'The fourth full moon, which our passage mentions, is that of *Taisha* or *Pausha* (Dec.-Jan.).'

According to Barua (p. 367):

'Asoka's expression *tisu chāturmmāsīsu* cannot but mean the three full moon days that occurred in *Āshāḍha*, *Kārttika*, and *Phālguna*, at the end of the three four-monthly seasons and were observed in the Middle Country as holidays.'

I have given a great deal of thought to the above translations and commentaries and have tried to equate them against our present-day knowledge of the fisheries of our rivers; but I cannot make any sense unless *tisu chāturmmāsīsu* is translated as the third *Chāturmāsī* and not as three *Chāturmāsīs* as is evident from the plural number of both the words. It is not a scribe's mistake as in all the six Pillars the same words are repeated. In connection with Asoka's Inscriptions, Barua (Pt. II, p. 97, 1941) observed that

'Provided that the rhythm is maintained, the cadences are right, the sounds are sweet and appropriate in rhyming, and the caesuras come spontaneously, it is immaterial whether certain rules of number and gender are obeyed or infringed.'

I believe *tisu chāturmmāsīsu* is also a case of the infringement of rules of number and in view of what I am going to state below, it should be taken to mean the third *Chāturmāsī*. Some support is lent to this view by Barua himself (p. 371), for he observes that

'Regarding these prohibitions, it is curious to note that they follow the lines laid down by Kautilya (XIII, 5): "the king (in a conquered territory) should prohibit the slaughter of animals for half a month during the periods of *Chāturmāsya* (from July to September), for four nights on the full moon days, and for a night to mark the date of his birth, or celebrate the anniversary of his conquest. He should also prohibit the slaughter of females and young ones as well as castration".'

In explaining *chāturmmāsīye chāturmmāsī-pakhāye*, Barua (p. 373) observes that

'In the third context the expression, *tisu chāturmmāsīsu* (a 7th case, plural) (is substituted) by *chāturmmāsīye* (a first, second, or fourth case singular). Even as a fourth

¹ Hultzsch, E.—'Inscriptions of Asoka' in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, I, p. 128 (1925).

² Buhler, G.—*Epigraphia Indica*, II, pp. 258-9 (1894).

case singular, *chāturmāsīye* means the continuance of the full moon of a four-monthly season, may be a particular season, say, the rainy. As a first or second case singular, *chāturmāsīye* may be equated with the Sk. *chāturmāsyaḥ* or *chāturmāsyaḥ*, "during the period of the *chāturmāsya* (July-Sept.)."

According to Barua (p. 371), 'The fish and other creatures got relief for not less than seventy-two days in the year, calculated at the rate of 3 days in every lunar half-month, viz. the first, the eighth, and the full or new moon. The three *Chāturmāsī* and *Taiśha* full moon days are all included in the list of full moon days throughout the year.'

Dr. B. C. Law has very kindly informed me that 'Asoka followed the popular Brahmanical practice which held the four days of the changes of the moon as sacred Sabbath days. The Jains and Buddhists also followed this practice. In fixing *uposatha* days they adopted Brahmanical usages'.

If my contention is correct that the catching of fish was prohibited during the third *Chāturmāsī* on the 14th and 15th day of the moon and the first day after the full moon, then the close periods are based on a remarkable insight into the breeding habits of the common food fishes of the fresh waters of India. The most important groups of fishes are the Carps, such as Catla (*Catla catla*), Rohita (*Labeo rohita*), Mrigal (*Cirrhina mrigala*), Calbausa (*Labeo calbausa*), etc.; Cat-fishes, such as Boal (*Wallagō attu*), Silond (*Silonia silondia*); Pangas (*Pangasius pangasius*), Vacha (*Eutropichthys vacha*), etc., and the Hilsa (*Hilsa ilisha*). All these fishes breed in the rainy season when the rivers are flooded. Usually the heavy breeding occurs during July and August but, depending on the early or late rains, the breeding may start in June or may last up to September also. One further thing which has come to light in recent years, though it has not yet been firmly established, is that the breeding is influenced by the phases of the moon or in other words there is a lunar periodicity in the reproduction of the principal freshwater fishes of India. The principal fishery of Hilsa, for instance, is round about the full moon and the new moon periods and the breeding of Carps, so far recorded or observed, has also been round about the same periods and the eighth day.

Let us consider the information regarding the breeding of Carps first, bearing in mind that heavy rainfall in Chittagong starts in April and not in June-July as in the Gangetic Plain.

LUNAR PERIODICITY IN THE SPAWNING OF INDIAN CARPS

Majumdar¹, while describing the spawning grounds of Carps in the District of Chittagong, observed that 'the spawning day generally falls within three days prior to or after the full moon or the new moon day during the months of April to July.' My own observations for the Chittagong area are as follows:—

1945—

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| 12th April .. | Seven days after full moon and the same period before new moon. |
| 10th May .. | One day before new moon. |
| 26th May .. | One day before full moon. |
| 10th June .. | New moon day. |

¹ Majumdar, C. H.—Spawning Grounds and Hatcheries in the District of Chittagong, Bengal. *Sci. and Cult.*, pp. 735-736 (1940).

1946—

1st April .. Eight days after new moon.
 30th April .. One day before new moon.
 17th May .. One day after full moon.
 10th to
 12th June Full moon: 13th June.

1947—

23rd April .. Two days after new moon.
 23rd May .. Three days after new moon.

Dr. Nazir Ahmad¹ has already referred to these dates of spawning.

The data for the Gangetic Plain are few but it was noted that in 1946 the fish bred on the 14th July, full moon day, and on the 30th September, 5 days after new moon.

In considering the above data, two factors of error may be borne in mind. Firstly, the data were supplied to me by the District Fishery Officers who had no idea of the object for which the information was collected. As they in turn depended on fishermen for information there was probably a time-lag between the day of actual breeding and the day information was received and transmitted to the Head Office at Calcutta. The second factor is the weather conditions prevailing during the breeding period. Such weather conditions as thunderstorms, lack of floods, heavy rains, cloudy days, etc., etc., are known to influence spawning.

It is not to be presumed from the above that Carps bred only on the days specified above. Probably they breed throughout the rainy season but spawning is intensified during the full moon and new moon periods and on the Ashtami days.

LUNAR PERIODICITY IN THE SPAWNING OF HILSA

In the case of Hilsa, Majumdar² stated that in the Sundarbans the fishing is done during the neap tide periods. Prashad, Hora, and Nair³ reported that on the Balasore Coast Hilsa fishing is done from the 11th day of the moon till to the 3rd day after the full moon and then from the 11th day after the full moon to a day or two after the new moon. A similar periodicity in the fishing for Hilsa has been observed in the Narbada River by Dr. C. V. Kulkarni of the Bombay Fisheries Department. He obtained fertilized eggs in plankton collecting on August 22, 1949, the fourteenth day of the moon.

The above data, inadequate as they undoubtedly are, indicate very clearly that (i) there is a lunar rhythm or periodicity in the breeding of the principal food fishes of Indian fresh waters and (ii) whereas new-moon and full-moon periods are most favourable for the spawning of the Carps and Hilsa, the eighth day after the full moon or new moon is also significant in the spawning of the Carps. If these inadequate data are now read with the injunctions contained in the Pillar Edict V, one must wonder at the

¹ Ahmad, Nazir—Methods of collection and hatching of Carp ova in Chittagong with some suggestions for their improvement. *Journ. Bombay Nat. Hist. Soc.*, XLVII, p. 595 (1948).

² Majumdar, C. H.—Foreshore Fishing in the Eastern Part of the Bay of Bengal. *Sci. and Cult.*, V, pp. 219–221 (1938).

³ Prashad, B., Hora, S. L., and Nair, K. K.—Observations on the Seaward Migration of *Hilga iliska* (Hamilton). *Rec. Ind. Mus.*, XLI, pp. 409–418 (1940).

accuracy and deep insight our ancestors had regarding the fisheries in India, particularly of the Gangetic Plain.

SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS OF ASOKA'S LAWS

Having established that Asoka's injunctions regarding the catching of fish are based on true scientific principles, let us now examine these laws in greater details. Asoka's law was that—

1. No fish should be caught on the 14th and 15th day of the moon and the first day after the full moon during the period of the 3rd Chāturmāsī¹ (*Śrāvaṇa*, July-August; *Bhādra*, August-September; *Āsvina*, September-October, and *Kārtika*, October-November) = 12 days.
2. No fish should be caught on the 14th and 15th day of the moon and the 1st day after the full moon of the month of *Pausha* (December-January) = 3 days.
3. No fish should be caught on the fast days—*Amāvasyā* or the day before new moon and the *Aṣṭamī* or the eighth day during every fortnightly period of the moon = $12 + 24 = 36$ days.
4. No tank fish (animals in the preserves of fishermen) should be taken during the above-noted days.

The total number of fish-prohibition days enjoined by Asoka would thus appear to be 51 unless there were other fast days besides the ones I have referred to above. Barua has counted 72 at the rate of 3 days in every half lunar month, the first, the eighth, and the full or new moon day. This is a point on which further co-ordinated research is necessary by Orientalists and Fishery Biologists. According to Dr. B. C. Law, Asoka prohibited the killing and sale of fish for $24 + 32 = 56$ days.

FULL MOON PERIODS IN RELATION TO FISHERY CONSERVATION

The first injunction is not to catch fish during the 14th, 15th and full moon days falling during the period commencing from the middle of July to the middle of November. The peak breeding period of India's principal food fishes is July, August, and September but Asoka's prohibition period extends up to the middle of November. This extended period is also scientifically logical, because after breeding in shallow areas or up-river the spent fish fall back to their normal habitats in deeper waters or in the case of Hilsa to the estuaries and the sea. The young also move down to safer habitats after the rains are over and the flooded areas begin to contract. The young and the weakened spent fishes need protection and it is indeed remarkable that even this was thought of in the remote ancient age. It is perhaps significant to note here that in Bengal Hindus generally do not take Hilsa after the Durga Pooja (sometime in October) to the Saraswati Pooja (towards the end of January).

There is another great virtue in this law in so far as prohibition is restricted only to certain specified days and not to the entire season. The fecundity of Carps and Hilsa is well known, for a pair of spawners, under favourable conditions, can produce millions of young. So nearly 6 days restriction during each spawning month is ample for the conservation of

¹ Though at present the Hindu New Year begins in *Vaiśākha* about the middle of April, in ancient times the year commenced in *Agrahayana* about the middle of November. It is on this basis that the third Chāturmāsī of the year will comprise the months of *Śrāvaṇa*, *Bhādra*, *Āsvina*, and *Kārtika*.

the fisheries, and does not interfere with the trade or the occupation of fishermen to any very great extent.

The significance of the second law whereby catching of fish is prohibited on the 14th and 15th day of the moon and the 1st day after the full moon besides the fast days of the month of *Pausha* (December-January) is not quite clear to me. This may be meant to protect the fishes during the height of the cold season, when the fish, particularly in the northern parts of the Gangetic Plain, are benumbed and lose much of their vitality and can sometimes be caught with hands. However, this point needs further investigation.

FAST DAYS IN RELATION TO FISHERY CONSERVATION

As regards prohibition on all fast days, there are many virtues in this injunction. Firstly, the trade will not be affected to any very great extent and fishermen themselves will be able to observe fasts. Secondly, besides the principal food fishes there are other varieties which do not breed during the rainy season but at other times of the year. Thirdly, by spreading prohibition in driblets over the whole of the year greater respect for law is assured and no hardship could be felt by the public.

It may be worthwhile to record here that the principal food-fishes of the Gangetic estuaries, such as Mulletts, Prawns, Bhetki, etc., breed in March and April and the salt-water *Bheries* take in water containing the eggs and young-ones of these species during the spring tides of the new moon and full moon periods for stocking purposes. For further details reference may be made to the first Fishery Development Bulletin of the Government of Bengal by Hora and Nair published in 1943.

PROHIBITION ON TANK FISHING IN RELATION TO FISHERY CONSERVATION

The fourth law by which tank fishing is prohibited is perhaps the most ingenious of all, for it has nothing to do with the spawning of fishes. The Indian Carps and Hilsa do not breed in tanks and in spite of many efforts by different Governments in the recent past they have not been induced to breed in confined impounded areas. As the tank fishes are the same as are found in rivers, it would have been difficult to control their sale and at the same time prohibit the catching of fish in the rivers. It was indeed very wise, therefore, to prohibit the catching of all fish for the control of marketing.

EVOLUTION OF FISHERY LAWS IN ANCIENT INDIA

How the ancient Hindus came to frame such complicated laws in such a pleasant manner and how they came to the views embodied in the laws will perhaps remain obscure for a long time to come till science and oriental knowledge are brought together in a very close and intimate collaboration. There is some indication that Asoka's Pillar Edict V records an advancement of knowledge over what Kautilya had recommended in his *Arthashastra* about 25 to 50 years earlier. He had recommended that the king should prohibit the slaughter of animals for half a month during the periods of *Chaturmāsya* (from July to September), for four nights on the full moon days, and for a night to mark the date of his birth, or celebrate the anniversary of his conquest. It will be obvious from what has been stated regarding the scientific basis of Asoka's laws that they are more perfect, humane, just, and easy to comply with.

PRESENT-DAY FISHERY LEGISLATION IN INDIA

The conservation method usually adopted are:—

1. Restriction of mesh of nets and other approved method of capture.
2. Prohibition of wholesale destruction by poisoning or dynamiting, etc.
3. Prohibition of capture of brood fish and young ones.
4. Closure of sections of rivers to serve as sanctuaries throughout the year.

I am more familiar with the fisheries of Bengal than with that of any other part of India, so I shall give some of the fishery legislation in this part of the Gangetic Plain.

In reserved and protected forests rules made under the appropriate sections of the Forest Act prohibit poisoning of any river or other water, killing fish by explosives, damming or bailing water and use of any fixed engine, such as net, cage, trap or other contrivance to catch fish.

For other areas, the Indian Fisheries Act IV of 1897 forbids and penalizes the use of explosives or poison to kill fish in any waters including the sea within one marine league of the coast. It further gives power to government to make rules for regulating the construction and use, in waters which are not private waters, of fixed engines and weirs, and the dimensions of nets together with modes of using them. Fishing in any specified waters may also be prohibited for a period not exceeding two years.

The Private Fisheries Protection Act (Bengal Act II of 1899) penalizes catching or destruction of fish, without permission of the person who owns the right of fishing, by 'fixed engine' or 'any matter'. This act, it seems, is designed more for prevention of theft of fish from private fisheries than for the conservation of fish therein.

It will be seen that the existing legal provisions for the protection of fish and conservation of fisheries are defective and for want of any machinery for enforcing them they are almost a dead letter. There is no provision against selling or buying or offering for sale and this practically nullifies all protective measures. To remedy this defect the Imperial (now Indian) Council of Agricultural Research discussed the subject of 'Conservation of Inland Fisheries by Legislation' in 1944 and two or three subsequent years and even collected views of all the Provincial and State Governments but no finality was reached and the matter now rests in the archives of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

A comparison between the present-day laws and those promulgated by Asoka will show the following important differences:—

1. Asoka's laws were very simple, applicable throughout his kingdom, and the prohibition periods were evenly spread over the whole of the year thus entailing no hardship either on the consumers or on fishermen. The present-day laws are complicated, piecemeal in application and through total prohibition during certain seasons inflict many hardships both on the consumers and fishermen.
2. Asoka prohibited the sale of fish, even from tanks, on certain days and, therefore, the enforcement of his laws was very easy. In the existing laws, for securing conviction for a

wrong deed, unless caught red-handed with reliable witnesses round about, much time has to be wasted as the procedure is very cumbersome.

3. Asoka's laws were based on the proper understanding of the migratory and spawning movements of the principal food-fishes of India, whereas the present laws are based on presumptions, and scientific data are now being collected to improve upon them.

On a very careful consideration of the whole matter, I feel that the Indian Union cannot, under the present circumstances, think of any better legislative measures for the conservation of its inland fisheries than to enact the laws promulgated by the good king Asoka in 246 B.C. We would thereby build up the economy of India on ancient skill, which is our heritage, but would not overlook to enlarge this knowledge by a scientific understanding.

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A CRITICAL STUDY OF HISTORY OF BENGAL, VOL. II

By SYED HASAN ASKARI

(Communicated by Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah)

(Received December 10, 1949)

Intensive regional studies have long been due for presenting a composite picture and comprehensive history of the sub-continent of India. It is necessary to realize how each of the great peoples of the past has contributed its quota to, and shaped the evolution of, Indian history. The great province of Bengal filled no small portion of the canvas of Indian history. It has had a geographical and political unity of its own sufficient to justify a separate treatment by the historians. It developed a distinctive civilization in the past and transmitted it to other lands; its fabulous wealth and abundance invited foreign adventurers and traders and it also proved a congenial soil for the activities of religious reformers and missionaries; its frontiers were often pushed far and wide and it had, on occasions, an existence independent of central control; and finally it not only influenced the course of events elsewhere but had much to do with changing the fate of the whole country. Such an important province could not but attract the attention of antiquarians and historical scholars. It was one of the great provinces of India regarding which besides what we find in almost all the general histories of the Delhi empire, we have some special volumes written by Muslim scholars, and as far back as 1813 Captain C. Stewart felt the need of furnishing his countrymen with one-volume history written on modern lines. Stewart's *History of Bengal*, however, was based chiefly on *Reyaz-us-Salatin* written in 1788. Since then much research has been done and many a tangled web has been unravelled. The researches of Messrs. R. L. Mitra, M. N. Chakravorty, Blochmann and Stapleton, R. D. Bannerji and Bhattasali, represented laudable attempts to settle many disputed points and reveal many new facts. But the results had been scattered and not very widely known. The fairly voluminous histories in Bengali by two eminent scholars of the province could not satisfy the need of all and there was a widespread demand for an accurate, comprehensive, and a scholarly presentation, in English, of the results so far secured from historical studies.

It was a happy idea which led to the formation, in 1936, under the auspices of the Dacca University, of the history of the Bengal Publication Committee. As originally planned the first of the comprehensive collaborative volumes which was devoted to the Hindu period and was so ably edited by the veteran scholar, Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, came out in 1943. The latter was sufficiently impressive and raised high expectations for the second and third volumes, undertaken by Sir J. N. Sarkar, the doyen of Indian historians, and covering the early Muslim and Moghul periods, one ending with the Moghul conquest of Bengal in 1571, and the other with the battle of Plassey in 1757. The work of editing could not have been entrusted to a more competent scholar. But unfortunately, as we read in the preface, the Editor had to modify the original scheme and owing to certain difficulties, he had to put all the political narrative of the two projected volumes in one and to publish it hastily in August 1947, reserving the treatment of the social and cultural history of the entire Muslim age to a final volume.

The period of five centuries and half (1200-1757) of the Muslim history of Bengal covered by the second volume was so full of stirring events and bewildering changes and the task of producing a fairly exhaustive work, on the subject, so vast and so complex, based on a minute and careful study of practically all the available sources and the materials accumulated by modern researches, was so arduous and stupendous that one cannot withhold the tribute of admiration for the pains taken, energy put in, and the success achieved, by the old and experienced Editor, in having made a wise choice of topics and titles and of his seven collaborators and for collecting together all that was available and revised it, amended it, supplying details where necessary so as to compress the whole of the complicated narrative within the limits of a single volume of 530 pages. Besides revising and sometimes recasting the work of some of the contributors so as to economize space and avoid repetitions and create a coherent and synthetic whole, the learned editor has himself written 12 out of the 28 chapters, covering more than 200 pages of the work.

In the list of contributors stand the names of some eminent historians and distinguished scholars, almost all of whom are sons of Bengal and reputed experts in their subjects. The book begins with the conquest of Bengal by Ikhtiaruddin Md. Bakhtiar Khilji and the first three chapters by Dr. K. R. Qunungo deal with the various phases of the Mamluk Sultaanate of Bengal. To these have been appended four valuable appendices on topography, coins, and chronology and the race and parentage of Bakhtiar, described as 'the maker of the medieval history of Bengal'. Then comes the chapter on the rise of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty, 2 out of the 6 sections of which have been contributed by the Editor and the rest is from the pen of Prof. N. B. Roy. This is followed by a short chapter, in which the problem of the intervening Hindu dynasty of Raja Ganesh has been discussed by the Editor and the two paragraphs at the end have been added by Dr. Qunungo. As regards the two succeeding chapters, in the first, Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah traces the history of the later Ilyas Shahis and of the Habshis Interregnum, and in the other, he provides us with a survey of the enlightened rule of Alauddin Husain Shah and his successors. The rise of the house of Sher Shah Sur and his contests with the Moghuls have been described in Chapter VIII by Prof. Roy and the house of Shamsuddin Mohammed Sur and the Kararani dynasty founded by the two brothers, Taj Khan and Suleman Khan, have been dealt with by the Editor in Chapter IX. There is an outstanding chapter entitled 'Transformation of Bengal under Muslim Rule', preceded by two others, also by the Editor, about first Moghul conquest of Bengal and the Viceroyalty of Raja Man Singh Kachawaha. The following four chapters about the state of Bengal under Jahangir, the conquests and the last achievements of Islam Khan Chisti, and 'the twenty years of stagnation (1613-1657)', were originally written by the late lamented Dr. S. N. Bhattacharya and were revised and abridged by the Editor. Excepting two out of the five sections of the Chapters devoted to Mir Jumla which have been written by Dr. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, one chapter on the Portuguese in Bengal by Dr. S. N. Sen, two on Shujauddaulah and Ali Verdi, contributed by Dr. K. K. Dutta, everything else, including a bibliography and chapters concerning regimes of Shahjehan, Shaista Khan, Murshid Quli Khan, Sirajuddaulah, and the activities of the Marhatas in Bengal, have emanated from the pen of the Editor. The conquest of Bengal by the English and the End of the Muslim Rule form the subjects of the concluding chapters. Such are actually the contents of the volume which ends with a twenty-five page Index prepared by Prof. N. B. Roy.

Though the work under review does not profess to tell the whole story and the detailed treatment of institutions and of economic and cultural aspects has been reserved for a separate volume, it is not devoid of interesting observations on conditions in different periods and of cultural odds and ends here and there. Ordinarily mere political annals form rather dull reading, but the Editor and his team of co-operative expositors have stimulated interest and tried to make the dry bones of history live. The value of the work has been enhanced by due emphasis being laid at the opening of several chapters, on the dominant features covered by them. There is, however, only one map giving a view of modern (pre-partition) Bengal and it is inadequate. It is difficult to have definite ideas as to the correct location of old routes and places with which important events were connected in the different periods in the past. One feels that this map should have included the adjoining regions of Bihar, Orissa and Assam.

Though the work is an outstanding contribution to the provincial history of India, it falls somewhat short of our expectations. Indeed it is bound to elicit a mixture of praise and criticisms. Of course one can have nothing but praise for the learned Editor for having brought out such a substantial work under adverse circumstances and also for having, as he claims, 'cleared the jungle and broken virgin soil in respect of certain periods and constructed the true history, piecing together a large number of stray hints in Persian Manuscripts and European Trade reports'. But the total impression created by the book on those who have had acquaintance with the original sources is that there is much in it of the paraphrase of the Reyaz, Isami, and Stewart with a few inscriptions occasionally thrown in, and for the Moghul period, it is a broad summary of Ferishta, Tabaquat-e-Akbari, Akbar-Nama, Baharistan, Seyar-ul-Mutakherin, etc. Such portions can hardly be called original accounts. Some may take the work to be uneven in quality and in the way of treatment. At places it is unnecessarily detailed and at others significant points have either been omitted or skipped over. Again, in view of the importance of the Province of Bihar, whose history was so inter-linked with that of Bengal, one seems inclined to think that Bihar has not received its due share of attention. When the need has been felt to give a list of the Governors of Orissa, what was the justification for not giving a connected history of the Governors of Bihar? One feels that the study though extensive has not been exhaustive for incidental references and scraps of evidence found here and there in literary and theological works cannot be justly brushed aside as merely trivial and 'pious frauds'. There are 15th century writings non-political in motive but informative of contemporary social conditions, which have not yet been properly explored and are capable of yielding extremely valuable information. The Sufi saints who wielded so great an influence on rulers and masses of Bengal and elsewhere have left behind their Malfuzat and Maktubat or table talks and letters. A mere glance over the 3rd section of chapter V will suffice to show how our existing knowledge about certain things can be supplemented or corrected from information quarried from such sources. In the face of clear statements in the Maktubat of Hazrat Nur Qutub Alam and Hazrat Ashraff Jehangir Simnani the Editor should not have relied on a reference of Ferishta, whose place and date were so distant with reference to Raja Ganesh, and held that the latter was no oppressor of the Muslims and 'he left contented subjects and nobles behind him' (page 123). If Reyaz is a pious fraud, Nizamuddin and Ferishta are second-rate authorities for Bengal. Ferishta's estimate of Ganesh is unconfirmed even by Nizamuddin, who in many cases was Ferishta's authority as that of Reyaz also. Hindu names with

Kans suffix are not unknown. What about Kans Narayan of Tahirpur family? Besides the clear and unmistakable account of the alliance between Kans or Ganesh and the then Raja of Tirhut against Ibrahim Shah Sharqi while the latter was on his march to Bengal at the invitation of Hazrat Nur Qutub Alam, in the travel diary of Mullah Taquia of the days of Akbar and Jehangir, we have some references to the Jaunpur invasion in Arakanis chronicles. (JASB, 1844). Abdur Razzaq, the envoy of Shah Rukh and the author of Matla-us-Sadain, refers to another attack by Jaunpur on Bengal during Shah Ahmad's reign. Buchanan-Hamilton's manuscript history which he found at Pandua differs from Reyaz and it is not fair to call it a mere incorrect summary.

The reviewer cannot but respectfully register his disappointment when he finds a certain lack of sympathy with the achievements of Muslim rulers of Bengal. The assertion that 'the family of Alivardi did not produce a single son worthy to be called a man and the woman were even worse than men' is, unfortunately, too sweeping to be true. Does this remark truly apply to Zainuddin Haibatjung and his devoted wife, Amina Begam? Has any contemporary writer who really counts said anything disparaging to the latter? 'The sickly and imbecile Shahamatjung', besides being 'Governor of Dacca for many years before his death', had been entrusted with many other responsible works on the occasions of the Marhatta inroads in Bengal. As regards even his wife, Ghasiti Begam, she must have been too old in 1756 to have a 'lover and Captain' in Nazarali, for she was the eldest issue of her father who died in that year at the ripe old age of 82. Among the 'favourites' of Ghasiti Begam, Husain Quli Khan, who was murdered by Seraj, has been mentioned, but we also come across the expression of 'divine justice for the unjust murder of Husain Quli Khan'. Even in respect of Serajuddullah one feels that Sir J. N. Sarkar has relied too much upon the testimony of those who cannot be described as his friends. Had not the French, including Mons Jean Law, some grievances against the youthful Subedar of Bengal, who had at first left them in the lurch? Law's story of Seraj gloating over the agonies of the people, men, women and children, whom he caused to be drowned reads like the anecdote current in the bazar about the cruel pleasures indulged in by the infamous Jahandar Shah of Delhi. A rather unhistorical and not very relevant paragraph has been added at the section V of Chapter XI by the Editor making insinuation against Emperor Jehangir that he appointed Qutubuddin Koka to Bengal only to procure Mehrunnesa for 'a man of honour' like Mansingh was not expected to do the service required. This story has been thoroughly exploded by sober historical research. The Portuguese have been praised for their 'purity of character' and for 'having enriched the stock of words in Bengali language', but one searches in vain for even a passing reference to the character of those who were responsible for the peaceful penetration of Islam in Muslim-ridden Bengal and but for a few observations of Dr. Habibullah we could have got nothing about the influence of Persian and Arabic and the part played by pre-Mughal Muslim Rulers in the evolution of the language of the Province. The Mughals have received some credit for having given peace to, and broken the 'narrow isolation' of, Bengal.

The disproportionate number of pages given to the Mughal period—nearly two-thirds of the book being devoted to it—is quite understandable for the materials regarding the earlier period are not so abundant and for want of modern research it still remains practically an 'unexplored ground'. It is worth while to consider a few points regarding this period where it is possible to differ from the views of the writers. We are told on page 1 that 'it was about this time (i.e. 2nd half of the 12th century) that a fresh wave

of camel-rearing Turkoman tribes named Ghuzz and Khalji burst upon the Seluk empire'. Actually the Khaljis had emigrated earlier, about 10th century, and dwelt in the Helmund valley of Afghanistan, when they figured in the Ghaznavite's army. It is but an arguable point to suggest that the invasion of India by Turkish tribes had anything to do with Islam. Islam does not sanction aggressive imperialism. There is no evidence about pre-planned expansion or colonization. Regarding Bakhtiar's capture of Bihar though the arguments for fixing its date as 1199 and not 599 A.H. or 1203 A.D. are convincing some known particulars about the political situation of the Bihar region, the inscriptional and architectural evidences published in Journals and Reports, should have been detailed. Bakhtiar founded no kingdom. What is the ground for assuming that he had the Kutba read and coins issued in his own name? No coin has yet been found and the solitary evidence of Nizamuddin cannot be taken as conclusive. Till the end Bakhtiar owned his allegiance to the Ghorids. Neither Tabaqat nor Reaz says that he assumed kingship. Again what evidence is there for saying that he pulled down idol temples and converted the infidels? Even the Tabaqat and Reyaz are silent on the point. As regards Bakhtiar's route on the 'invasion of Tibbat' there is no discussion as to the identification of this route. It is a serious omission because discussions have been published in Journals, the most successful identification being by Bhattashali in I.H.Q. Notice should have been taken of the Sanskrit inscription relating to this event which also gives the date of the disaster that overtook the 'Turuksha' invader. Bakhtiar's expedition began towards the close of the winter of 1206 and yet his death—three months after his return—is also dated in 1206 (pp. 10-11).

Such tales as that of Iwaz's early life and his encounter with the Fakir should find no place in sober history, at least in the text (p. 21). A very similar story is related in the Tabaqat of Ilutmish also. A whole para about Iwaz's conquest of Lakhnor is built upon flimsy arguments, unwarranted by the text. It has been mentioned that 'Muslim religious frenzy had to be stirred by Tazkirs exhorting people to Jihad, etc.' because of the reverse on the Lakhnor frontier. The reference to Hodiwala's correction to Elliot's translation of the passage is irrelevant, for even Hodiwala does not make that fanciful combination. The text mentions Tazkir by Imamzada Jalaluddin, but does not say it was to rouse religious frenzy. Tazkir is just a religious discourse. The text only refers to Iwaz's acquiring control over Lakhnor but this reference is not connected with this Tazkir (pp. 21-22). The Orissan inscription is undated, but it is likely that the reference is to Iwaz. What is the ground for saying that the campaign was protracted? Is it because the inscription is taken to be dated c. 1220? Even the Lakhnor campaign of Iwaz is undated, and is only conjecturally placed in 1215 and on these combined conjectures is it sober history to say, as has been suggested in the para, that Iwaz's Lakhnor campaign was preceded by Orissan victory over the regions. All that one can say on these evidences is that on the Lakhnor frontier border warfare was proceeding, as was the case, in fact, throughout the period of Muslim rule in Bengal. One feels that much of the space of this para could have been economized. Similar is the case with the next para about Iwaz's extortion of tribute from the Senas and others. The text could not mislead anyone in believing that these meant anything more than the occasional raids and capture of booty. As regards Iwaz's obtaining the caliph's investiture, a positive statement has been made about it though Minhaj is silent on the point. Thomas, who was the first to mention it, refrained from asserting this as a positive fact. His basis was the date on Iwaz's coin of 317 (and

also of 620, so that the earlier date is important), in which the Caliph Al Nasir's name appears for the first time and Iwaz calls himself 'Qasir-i-Amirul-Muminin' in place of 'Nasir-i-Amirul-Muminin'. The same date of the month is repeated on the issues of these years suggesting an anniversary. All these should have been detailed as an argument, instead of making such positive assertions. There is one more point about Iwaz. How can one positively state that he advanced his southern frontiers to Damodar and to the borders of Vishnupur? Katasin may be there, but Katasin does not figure yet in Iwaz's time as the frontier. When it does in Tughan's time, it is mentioned as in the interior of Orissa.

Let us now turn to pages 51-53. Is the evidence about Yuzbak's capture of Madaran all so very clear that a positive statement could be made without so much as discussion in the text or in the appendix, of the coin reading, which is the only source, besides the Tabaqat. In both the reading is disputable; at least the argument by which one arrives at this positive conclusion should have been detailed in a book which is meant for the experts also. Why should Bardhan Koti be called a mythical city? The place now called Bardhan Kot still exists on the eastern bank of the Karatoya in Bogra district. At the time of Mughisuddin's invasion, no centralized kingdom is said to have existed in Kamrup, but on page 109, such a state is said to have existed there 'from remote antiquity'.

Next we come to Balban's pursuit of Tughril and the latter's flight towards Jainagar. Apparently the popular tradition about Tughril's friendship with the Ratna-Fa of Tipperah has been taken from Rājmaḷa. But does the incident recorded in it give the date and mention Tughril by name? Jainagar towards which Tughril is said to have fled is emphatically identified with Orissa and he is said to have fled not towards the east but south-west. The arguments on pages 64-5 for the assertions are inadequate 'when Balban arrived within 30 or 40 kos of Lakhnawti, Tughril resumed his retreat in the direction of Jainagar (Orissa and not Tipperah)' and yet Balban 'passed the rainy season of 1281 at a place..... perhaps in the vicinity of Sonargaon, and at a short distance from Loricol'. Why should Balban proceed to the East while pursuing Tughril who was journeying in the opposite direction towards Jainagar? Balban compacted with Dhanuj Rai against Tughril's flight down the rivers. A straight march would have brought Balban to Tughril's fort of Loricol where his family is stated to have been. Indeed, he goes to Sonargaon and parleys with Dhanuj and then pursues Tughril who had slipped from the fortress and was marching eastward to Jainagar. If the first campaign was also in pursuit of Tughril who was moving towards Orissa, why should Balban allow him time to go to the East and then make a pointless compact for intercepting him along the rivers, when he knew Orissa could not be reached by any of the Eastern Bengal rivers. In fact, the whole campaign becomes unintelligible if Orissa is understood for Jainagar. One may add here that Barani did have first-hand knowledge of the Bengal campaign, for his maternal grandfather was in charge of Lakhnawti when Balban was waging his campaign.

There are still other things which attract one's attention. In a long paragraph (p. 87) Ismai's unconfirmed statement about Nasiruddin Ibrahim joining Mohammed Bin Tughluk against Kishlu Khan in Multan is sought to be reconciled with numismatic evidence. Was it necessary? His coins which cease after 727 are conclusive. Surprisingly enough no notice has been taken of Bahadur's coins in his own name in 728—a far more authentic evidence of his rebellion than Isami's statement. Besides, we have Ibn Batura's testimony also which has not been referred to either.

There was no need to refute the statement in *Tarikh-i-Mobarak Shahi* that Mohammad Bin Tugluk invaded Bengal in 741, for the text says nothing of the kind. The reference in the text is to Haji Ilyas

ملک الیاس حاجی بادشاہ شد و خود را سلطان شمس الدین خطاب
کرد و در سنہ احدی و اربعین و سبعمایہ بقصد سنار گون روان شد و ملک
فخر الدین را زندہ بدست آوردہ مراجعت فرمود *

Ibn Batuta's reference to contest between Ali Shah and Fakhruddin should have had a bearing on the question of Haji Ilyas's occupation of Lakhnauti. When did Ibn Batuta visit Sudkawan?

Ilyas is said to have occupied 'Kamrup Nagara'. Where was the city? More discussion is necessary to convince one how Kamrup came to be called 'Chawlistan' in the unique coin of Secundar. On page 110 we are told that 'for a century after Yuzbuk's invasion Kamrup was left to itself'. The celebrated saint of Bihar, Makhdum Sharfuddin, in one of his discourses, refers to Bahadur Shah, son of Sultan Shamsuddin Feroz as having been in charge of 'Kamrup' which he retained even after the death of his father, while one of his brothers, Hatim Khan, was the ruler of Bihar. It seems that much of the history of the period is wrapped in obscurity.

New light on the chronology of Shamshuddin Ahmad's reign has been thrown by Mr N. B. Sanyal's article in N.S.J. 1947-48 by the discovery of a coin which would advance his accession to about 837 and give him a reign of one or two years. With regard to the Orissan campaign of both Barbak and Husain Shah we hear of Ismail Ghazi on both the occasions, although from two different sources, *Risalat-us-Shuheda* and *Madla Panjika*. It seems not unlikely that both the accounts refer to the same persons, and the war, but the chronology has been confused.

The long account of Sher Shah's battle with Humayun at Chausa should have been left out or abridged, for it is strictly not Bengal's history and is found in similar details in other works of Moghul-Afghan History. Similar is the case with the note on pp. 169-70 regarding the battle position of the two forces and the topography thereof. These merely increase the bulk of the book without adding much to our knowledge. One should say the same of the detailed description of the battle of Bilgram on pp. 174-76. What is the evidence for saying that Mohammad Shah Sur raided Arakan (p. 178)? The closely packed account of Mir Jumla's achievements in the north-eastern regions of Mughal India is a model of wise and relevant compression of a crowded canvas characteristic of the great historian Editor. Compression, however, can be overdone. There is no mention of the Mughal mint established at Alamgirnagar, a name given to Kuch Bihar by Mir Jumla, and of the coin of which the legend is in Bengali characters but the language is Arabic. Again the Assam campaign was due to the initiative taken by Mir Jumla. It is true that Aurangzeb while appointing him Governor of Bengal, in June 1660, had directed him to conquer the Rajahs of Assam and Arrakan after disposing off the affairs of Shuja. But Mir Jumla postponed the Arrakan campaign and assumed the offensive against Kuch Bihar and Assam.

There are certain errors of facts and typography and transliterations which it is worthwhile to mention in the hope of getting a better and more improved edition. The treatment is clear and marked by a felicity of expression. But there are certain queer expressions, such as 'archaeological imagination' (p. 24) and 'superstitious affections' (p. 468). Historical

genuineness is marred by certain factual errors. It is not a fact that Aliverdi had three daughters (p. 468). The 'Che of Purnea', the wife of Saulatjung, was not his first cousin. Stewart is the only writer to say so and he has misled many modern scholars. Aliverdi was not a 'beggarly adventurer from Persia' nor was so 'Jafar Ali Khan'. Aliverdi was not an Arab by descent but an Afshar Turk; nor is it a fact that his grandfather was a foster brother of Aurangzeb (p. 436). Mir Mohammad Amin of Nishapur, the founder Viceroy of Oudh, was entitled Saadat Khan Burhanul Mulk and 'Saadat Ali' was a grandson of his daughter. Murshid Quli Khan never asserted his independence and it was not he but Aliverdi who founded a Shia dynasty in Bengal. 'The admission of his utter defeat' by Aliverdi, at the hands of the Marhathas, is at best an arguable point (p. 468).

Firoz Khan, son of Nusrat Khan, has been called Amir-i-Koh (I-jud) (p. 90). Actually the Mobarak Shahi has Amir-i-karrah. This is correctly rendered by Prof. N. B. Roy elsewhere. Aba Baqr (p. 296) should be Aba Bakr. Āga Mohammed Syed (p. 437) and Mirza Sayyid Ahmad (p. 427) should be Sayeed Ahmad Khan, which was the name of Saulatjung. In fact in spite of diacritical marks mistakes of transliterations are profuse. It is horrifying to find such marks on words like Iwāz (p. 1) and on the first letter of the too many personal names such as Ārsalan, Āshraf, Āsad, Ānwar and also on Āhkam, Ākhbarat, etc., whereas there are no marks on words like, 'Ihtimām, Sālār, Shahbāz, Bahārīstān, etc., in many places. It is wrong to write Muhasil for Muhassil (p. 441), Kishwars Kasha for Kishwar Kuṣhā (p. 70), Nisār for Nazar (p. 73), Mukarramat for Makramat (p. 409), Sahana for Shahna (p. 69), Jajair for Jazāir (p. 108), Havladaṛ for Havalḍar (p. 914), Hishamuddin for Husāmuddin (p. 64), Nawwarah for Nawarāh (p. 342), Dilawwar for Dilāwar (p. 379), Māwālī for Mawālī (p. 76), Ek for Yak (p. 218), Girshasp or Kirshasp for Gurshāsp (p. 53), Tughral for Tughril (p. 49), Nakhs for Nakkhas (p. 12), Nauumed for Nā-umed (p. 65), Mahatarā for Muhtaram (p. 62), Ābul Fauz for Abul Faiz (p. 336), Āhad for Ahd (p. 65), etc. The list is by no means exhaustive. There are also misprints such as fathr for father (p. 73), Dath (p. 99) for death, hardly (p. 398) for hardy, change (p. 313) for chances, bur (p. 339) for but. Isami's couplet, quoted on page 31, becomes discordant by 'Nairu' being written as 'Nairavi' and 'O' being written as 'Wa'. 'Wa-al-Musalmain' and 'wa-al-Salātin' 'Abul-Fatha Toghrāl' in the Bihar inscription should be corrected as 'wal Muslemeen' and 'was-Salātin Abul Fath Tughril' (p. 47). Similarly 'waaldin' on page 52 should be 'waddin'. 'The word 'Nāmahram' on page 421 has been wrongly translated as 'untrustworthy'. It really means a stranger who is not permitted to enter the woman's apartment. The word 'Auliya' is itself plural and does not require 's' after it (pp. 224 and 68).

To conclude, though opinions may differ on the point whether the Dacca University of which this volume is a production may well be proud of it, one should not forget that the Editor—a scholar of international fame and well known for his wide outlook and long and varied experience—had to work under great difficulties and there was an evident danger of the long-promised work not being published at all. By his indefatigable energy he has filled a conspicuous void in the historical literature, and though this second volume of the history of Bengal has not appeared as we would have wished it to appear, it may be doubted whether this stout volume will be superseded for many years as a standard work.

THE WOODEN SCULPTURES OF KAFIRISTAN

By ROLF HENKL

(Received January 7, 1950)

The word Kafir (in its various spellings Kaffir, Caffre, Caffor, Kaffer, etc.) seems to be of Arabic origin and has come to mean to the modern Arab an infidel. The educated in the west mostly know it as the name of an African Negro race of the Bantu family. Etymology is obscure, especially the question whether it wandered from the Bantu dialect into Arabian, or the opposite way. When the Near East was Mohammedanized, all pagans in the bordering countries were termed Kafirs (thus distinguishing them from the infidels in the West, the Faringhi or Franks). A 'black Kafir'—as the word is used in the *Arabian Nights*—is simply a black slave of any Negro race not converted to Mohammedanism. (In Europe, 'Kaffer' is a word of abuse synonymous with ass.) When Mohammedanism extended to Afghanistan and India, the conquest took its usual paths along the great rivers and highways, and for centuries the inaccessible recesses of the Hindukush (or, as in modern Persian, Hindu Koh) remained untouched. The inhabitants practised their own religion and became known to the surrounding Mohammedan civilization as the Kafirs of the Hindukush. Their racial composition is obscure, too. Inaccessible mountain valleys often shield aboriginal populations, and in some cases preserve rests of invading waves; in the valleys of Friuli (Venezia Giulia) f.i., a flax haired, blue eyed strain has survived, evidently descendants of the Goths, who preserved their characteristic intact as if there would not be any Roman traits. But while the very sparse population of the northern and north-eastern slopes of the Hindukush is definitely Mongolian, the larger and more prosperous valleys to the north, south and west (especially those which benefit by the monsoon and are forested, which is rare in these regions) harbour tribes which probably represent a branch of the ancient Aryan invaders of India, mixed—but to a small degree—with unknown aboriginal inhabitants. The language of the Kafirs of the Hindukush was investigated by a Norwegian philologist, Morgenstierm, in his 'Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan' (Stockholm, 1935) and more thoroughly by the Danish Scientific Mission to Afghanistan, which left in autumn, 1949, for Denmark; their findings are not edited yet. As far as I could make out, the racial composition of the Kafirs still awaits scientific investigation.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, news reached circles interested in anthropology in the west about strange wooden sculptures in the Hindukush valleys, present in the villages of the inhabitants in masses, such as were observed elsewhere in the statue-covered Easter Island only. The late Dr. Joseph Hackin, before the second war Director of the French Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan, published a paper in French on these sculptures in 1926 in 'Artibus Asia', IV, Avalun-Verlag, Hellerau, a publication which has now become extremely rare. At that time, expressionist art was the great new fashion in Europe, and primitive art, which supposedly works along purely expressionist lines, met with the same interest.

Hackin writes:

'Some thirty years after the Hegira, Islam and Buddhism were at loggerheads in ancient Bactria and the valley of the Kabul river. This historical conflict had naturally to end with the triumph of the Musulman invaders. But although Islam easily triumphed over the last descendants of the warlike Kušānās and progressed step by step towards India, the Mōhammedans could not rally to their cause the pagan tribes well entrenched in the northern and southern part of the Hindukush, in the valleys between the Alingar and the Kunar, tributaries of the Kabul-rud, and in the valley of the Kokchan or Minjan, a river flowing into the Oxus (Amu-Darya). Tamerlan tried twice to turn this regions into a dependency (1399 A.Ch.). There was even a marble pillar erected, not far from the fortress of Najil, to commemorate the victory of the conqueror over the Seyah Posh Kafirs. Ahmed Shah unified Afghanistan, Dost Mohammed completed his work by annexing ancient Bactria (1851); but Kafiristan remained practically independent.

Attempts to convert the inhabitants of these regions continued, however, very actively, and missionaries travelled through the length and breadth of the land, but without great success. It was a massacre of the Mollahs by the Seyah Posh Kafirs, which brought about an intervention by the Emir Abdur Rahman. The punitive expedition, organized in 1896, rapidly overcame the last resistance of the natives. The children of the notables of the region were taken to Kabul for instruction in the Mohammedan religion, and the land of the Kafirs, now entirely subdued by the Emir, became officially the province of Nuristan (the Country of the Light).

Among the spoils of war brought home by the Emir Abdur Rahman were some primitive sculptures, vestiges of the religious art among the Kafirs. As these documents are very rare, we wish to publish them.

"The religion of the Caufirs (Kafirs)", writes Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone, "is quite unlike any other religion.¹ They believe in one god, whom they call Imrā, or Tsokooce-Dagouri; but they also worship masses of idols which, according to them, represent heroes of old; they hope to attain divinity by their intercession."

These idols are made of stone or wood; they represent male or female deities, afoot or on horseback.

A certain Mullah named Nujeeb has seen in the public hall of the village of Caumdaish (Kamdeshe) a wooden column on which was seated the figure of a man holding a lance in one hand, a commander's baton in the other. This idol represented the father of one of the old village chiefs, who had acquired the right of erecting this statue to himself by feasting repeatedly the whole village. This is not the only case of such apotheoses known among the Kafirs. Indeed it seems easy to enter their paradise by practising hospitality, which is one of the virtues which they evaluate most.² Their paradise they call Burry-le-Boola, while the evil ones go to hell, called Burry-Duggur-Boola.' (Translated from the French original.)

So far Sir. Hackin. As to the pronounciation of the Kafir words quoted by him, I have not been able to make out whether the spelling is always supposed to be according to French phonetics or is partially a direct quotation from Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone.

¹ Quite a mistake as we shall see later. The quotation is from his book: 'Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, etc., by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, (etc. etc.)... late envoy to the King of Caubul (=Kabul)', London, 1815.

² Note that such feasts (and apotheoses) are frequently reported of the old Nordic heroes.

Veritable forests of sculptures were observed in the Bashgul and Dungul valleys. It is possible that some of the figures survive in remote places; perhaps there is a happy hunting ground for future explorers.

Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone had no opportunity to see the valleys of the Hindukush himself. More information—and authentic one—is contained in the reports from Sir George Scott Robertson, political agent in Gilgit. As Britain consolidated her political position in the North-West of India, attempts naturally followed to penetrate into the mysterious border regions. In 1886, Colonel Lockhart attempted an expedition on a small scale, but was unsuccessful. In 1889, Sir Scott Robertson, incredibly intrepid, set out, accompanied only by a few native porters and some inhabitants of the region to be visited, with whom he had established friendship in Gilgit. He managed to reach Kamdesh, and to stay there for some time, benefiting by the hospitality of the natives, which—as we heard before—is one of their chief virtues. He came again in 1890, and travelled through the surrounding country, collecting valuable information about the costumes and religious beliefs of the Kafirs. He could freely sketch the villages and shrines. He was the last westerner who saw the wooden images in situ, and who could collect information as to their meaning and worship, although he was not permitted to witness ceremonies or to see the inner recesses of the shrines. What he saw, incidentally, confirms the informations furnished by the Mullah Nujeeb to Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone. Sir Scott Robertson published a book on his voyages (*The Kafirs of the Hindukush*, London, 1896).

The sculptures brought home to Kabul by the Emir Abdur Rahman, the largest being an equestrian statue (pict. I), found asylum—first a rather precarious one, as their presence scandalized the Mullahs, but now a scientifically established refuge—in the museum in Kabul, where they fill the room known as 'Kafiristan Hall' (the ending 'stan' meaning 'country of ...'). Some of them are also in the museum in Peshawar. They are roughly done sculptures in wood, made probably with use of no other tools but axes and knives. Sir Scott Robertson reports that the biggest of them were hewn in the forest into the approximate shape, and then transported to the villages where they were completed. Some of them are of superhuman size, and there were also some very large ones. Their size prevented their being taken along by the conquering Afghans, who had to destroy them on the spot, in order to exterminate idolatry, thus depriving posterity of a sight of these works of primitive art. They were not different in their characteristics from the smaller or undersized pieces which have come down to us. We cannot agree, however, with the first and only encountered opinion about their artistic value, expressed by Dr. Hackin in his above-mentioned paper. Hackin's judgment about them was based on the golden rules of graeco-roman art. We know better nowadays. An enormous progress has been made in the world, silent and little noticed by the public, but all-pervading, in the appreciation of art. While all former generations considered art as either civilized (mostly their own one) or barbaric, we have, for the first time in human history, reached some sort of unbiased outlook, and possess a capacity of judgment which we could euphemistically term an absolute or near-absolute meter for value in the arts. This great advance has come to us since expressionism is in the world, and the Nazi tried in vain to retard it by declaring all modern art degenerate. The same opinion was expressed by Dr. Hackin on the Kafiristan sculpture; but degeneration cannot take place unless it is preceded by high artistic values, a development, of which, in Kafiristan, there is no trace. On the contrary, we must see in them an original contribution to art, without a precedent; and neither can,

in my opinion, European expressionism—which now finally has reached also the Americas, and flourishes there at present—be rightly called a degeneration by its adversaries, because, although its introduction has followed a certain historical pattern—classicism under the empire, impressionism, pointillism, expressionism—it breaks away too widely from its precedents to be confounded with them even under the term of degeneration. Primitive art is a fresh departure, based on no layer of previous artistic (but may be religious!) tradition. Whether 'primitivity' also means freedom from outside influences, and what is the relationship of primitive art to expressionism, we shall presently investigate.

What does Dr. Hackin say about the artistic value of our figures—(the first writer to express an opinion about, as Sir Scott Robertson's book is purely descriptive)? He calls them 'grossly schematic, void of original composition, false primitives'. We shall investigate these charges.

The first reproach—being schematic—looks indeed grave. It sounds as if such works would be deprived of any individuality and thus represent real emptiness. But I am afraid we are too much anchored in the classic European viewpoint. Our present independent meter, with which we measure art, will help us to remove the star in a therapeutic way not unlike that of the modern school of philosophy, which aims at clearing up semantics by splitting the meaning of conventional words very deeply; explaining, f.i., that there is by no means an entity called the ego on the only ground that we all know how to use the first person singular. (A language of philosophy seems needed using pure symbols.) Has the idea of individuality in artistic representation formed a part of art from its earliest beginnings? By no means. Art was always very schematic. Egyptian pharaohs in stone—Buddhas from Ceylon to Tibet and Japan—Byzantine paintings of Christ and the saints—Gothic kings in the crypts—Alaska totem poles—the patterns in Chinese silk and Flemish tapestries—where do we find anything else but schematic representation, with the only exception of graeco-roman art and its offshoots, a great individualistic world, no doubt, which has come to be overrated, though, with the expansion of European political and cultural influence into the world. And even Hellenistic sculpture is not void of a certain schematism. Gods are represented as certain types, in a certain age, with certain attributes, and referring to certain myths. Thankful as the world has to be to the great occidental idea of individualism, one of the most liberating ideals the world has seen, we cannot but admit that the representation of gods, saints, heroes, myths, kings, ancestors, has always and in all countries and periods been greatly schematic. And little chance seems to be that the world will get more idealistic. Look at the schematic monumental sculpture of the Soviets, or the abstract sculptures of the most modern, like Picabia, Brancusi, Moore. Thus the utter schematic appearance of the Kafiristan plastic work cannot be interpreted as depriving them of artistic value.

As to the second reproach, void of original composition, the problem of originality is intimately connected with the question of outside influence. What exactly does originality mean? Does it mean that every original work ever produced must be entirely different from all its predecessors in history, in style, form, appearance, contents, if it is to enjoy a good press, and must it be free from any influence whatsoever? Manifestly this cannot be true, and a postulate of this kind must be considered as overgrowth of our individualistic tendencies. Greek art is not inferior or showing weak spots, because it took from the Aegean world; and neither is a Khmer Buddha less beautiful because he is made after Indian patterns. Nowhere in the biological world is anything found without signs of natural influence which

rules the world of appearance. Never a species has suddenly sprung up, showing no relationship to other kinds. I am afraid we cannot entertain the second reproach either, although Hackin points out a definite influence of ancient Persian art f.i. in the headgear of the statue shown at the left side of plate I, pict. 2. The empire of the Achemenidae reached thus far, and royal or hieratic statues might have survived till the Kafir artists saw them. Also Islamic influence is undoubtedly present, as f.i. in the turban-like formations. Our sculptures are evidently not only primitives, but also members of the ancient world and the world of the middle ages. As to originality in the ordinary sense, I think all of you, or at least those of my listeners who saw the pictures for the first time, were struck with the great originality of these entirely schematic statues; I personally have made a study of primitive art all over the world from Tenochtitlan to Bali, and must confess the art of the Kafirs possesses a very special aura found nowhere else. Also from a purely technical viewpoint, there is no lack of original ideas. A round construction like the arms in the statue in the center (plate I, lower picture), which recalls the Ahir sculptures of Bihar, is something striking; the representation of 'double sexed' women with beard recalls the Ainu custom of tattooing women with beard and moustache (the Ainus are said to be Aryans). The sexual symbols, breasts and female genitalia (the sculpturing of which is unheard of in Central Asia) seem to point to influence from Oceania or Africa. The woman images (like the one shown on the right side of plate I, lower picture) are blackened by thick layers of blood from sacrificial animals.

A wooden pole (pict. III) showing two embracing warriors, represents a motive apparently entirely new. We had a sketch made of it, as photographs did not turn out well owing to the darkness of the room. The statues in the museum of Kabul cannot be moved, they are cemented to their base; but the sketch represents them quite well.

Some of the statues (picts. IV, V) show not the slightest difference from the fetishes of the Negroes. It is, of course, highly improbable that there was any real intercourse between regions as remote and inaccessible as the valleys of the Hindukush, and Oceania or Africa, in the historical past, not to speak of modern times, and theories like common branching off from prehistoric wandering masses of humanity and racial memory are too disputed to enter into our consideration. The only explanation is multiple relationship of all primitive art, not arising from practical contacts, but from equality of psychological sources.

There is a great number of other seemingly foreign influenced traits in our sculptures, which supports the above statement. In the museum of Peshawar, a woman is seen astride two horses, which recalls to me a performance of this kind, in gallop, of Kossak woman (in uniform very schematic) which I have seen in a Russian movie, as performing before the Czar. The neck of the horses is definitely Roman-Byzantinian. On the back of the horseman in picture I is seen an ornamental wheel, not unlike the Buddhistic wheel of rebirth with the running feet, or the wheel of the pure law (of Aśoka) which in turn seems to stem from the ancient Aryan sun wheel. But the most interesting background to our statues is provided by Sir Scott Robertson's chapters on the religion of the Kafirs. The report of the writer, who seems to have written without knowing the true importance of his discoveries, makes it most probable that we are, in the Kafir plastics, and religion, confronted by a layer of Aryan thought, delivered to us in Persian and Mohar-medan stylish disguise, but rooting in times considerably older than the first Aryan immigration into India. Indeed, the mythology of the Kafirs reads like the Edda. The religious scope of our sculptures is

hero worship during life as well as after death; the sculptures were either erected on graves or as monuments, thus ancestral, or for successful warriors during their lifetime; rich people—as mentioned above—even bought the right to have some made for them by feasting the priests and co-villagers. Our rider in the first picture is not armed, but Scott Robertson saw a huge figure on a grave mound wielding a spear. Who would not think at once on the manner of burial among the old Nordic nations, of Alarich, King of the Ostrogoths, buried in the Lusento in full armour, on horseback, lance in hand? The world of the Kafir is, like that of the ancient Teutons, divided into three realms, Urdesch (Urd, the yore), Mischdesch (clearly Midgard, the middle realm or earth) and Shtondesh (the Greek chthonic gods, those below the earth, who, in the Aegean world, also received bloody sacrifices like our statues, even sacrifices of small children, which is proved by the unearthing of toy figures of clay in Greece published in the *London Illustrated*, archaeological page, some years ago, showing priests of the chthonic gods, one holding the sacrificial child in his arms ready for the slaughter). The Kafirs sang hymns over the graves called lalu (αλευ, Greek) preserved in such words as coprolal. They thought the soul conserved in the breath (atmān, atmen, to breath). A tree, 9 years high and 18 years large, in which the goddess Dizane was born, is the World-Tree Yggdrasil. Imrà, one of their highest gods, endowed his prophets Moni (monos, the only one, to which others later accrued, like Gish and Sataram) with his breath, like the clay man in the Bible. Dizane sprang from Imrà's right breast like Athena from the head of Zeus. Moni slays a demon by decomposing him (like a robot!), and seven demons arise from his fragments (the heads of the hydra). Waters form a wall right and left of him like for the Hebrews fleeing through the Red Sea (that is the saving of the selected ones from the deluge, a story quite common to most mythologies). In the sacred precincts of the Kafirs were holes into the earth, into which nobody was allowed to look, lest death overtake him (at the bottom being doubtlessly, the Basilisk of ancient Aryan tales). Totem poles with animal heads (pict. I, dimly visible) were erected, and there were Tabus, as fields, belonging to the gods, which nobody might work, which points to the connection of tabus with fertility and agriculture discovered by Freud. Thus our mythologic features are either general or pronouncedly pre-Vedic Aryan.

Finally, as to the question of right or false primitivity, if we disregard the question of tools and technique, the primitive artist is one who transports into matter his thoughts and feelings (no matter how they came to be or from where they were influenced or what purpose they served) in the so-called direct way, that is, without regard to visual reality or any principle to base artistic representation on exact replicas of objective life. His phantasy is as creative as nature. Expressionists are, according to J. P. Hodin, artists who 'possess a collective unconscious whose contents and functions are of an archaic nature', that is, not imitating the archaic, but having mythological parallels (quite unrecognizable to the untrained mind in the modern western artist, but clearly present in the uncivilized religious sculptor). 'Hence the expressionist artist is associated with the myth-building force, that truly creative, spiritual force, out of which the symbols were created that gave form to men's conception of life and the world.' In this sense, the artists from the Hindukush are both true primitives and expressionists.

Referring again to the sketch of the two warriors in embrace,—perhaps it symbolizes blood-brotherhood, a custom prevalent among all Aryan peoples of old (but also among the North American Indians and modern

other cultures). When looking at the arms, seemingly *glued* together. I could not help thinking on the Magic Incantations from Merseburg,—

Bên zi Bêna
Bluot zi Bluoda
Lid zi Geliden
Sêse gelimida sîn

(Bone to Bone,
Blood to Blood,
Limb to Limb,
As if they were glued together).

This is the oldest piece of Aryan poetry discovered in writing so far. But perhaps this is more conjecture than science, though parallels are striking.

Finally let us compare the rectilinear Kafir style with pure cubistic art (Picasso and Bracque, pict. VI). Cubism is the introduction of purely intellectual principles into painting; the dissolution of all forms (but not colours!) into cubic shape; it could have been round disks or triangles, for that matter, but the cube or square was evidently chosen as being the most forceful of all geometric patterns. The straight lines and corners of the Kafir artist have, of course, something to do with his tools; but this need not necessarily be the case, as the work of other primitives (f.i. in Oceania) shows beautiful round forms in abundance. The Kafirs thus represent a case of 'natural' cubists. The forcefulness of the cube simply appealed to them, as it did to Picasso and Bracque. They choose it freely; if they reflected, they thought perhaps on the four corners of the earth (quadrangle of the geomancer) and similar shapes in ancient shrines, sacred tents, etc.

The primitive style (according to J. P. Hodin) has symmetry in the grouping; the structure is simple; the colour is even and strong; the distribution in space parallel or radiating; the extension two-dimensional, the line continuous, the rhythm established by repetition, symmetry and parallelism. The element of movement is supplied by the narrative content. Among primitive peoples the formative will is governed by the magic and the hypnotic... All these elements seem to be present in the Kafiristan sculptures, including the last two mentioned qualities; the magic, of course, only inasmuch as the old Nordic tribes, whose influence we have perceived in Kafiristan, believed in it (and that was quite to a large extent), as we are still ignorant, and perhaps shall for ever remain, of such additions as the Kafirs probably made through the spoken word; the presence of the hypnotic we can clearly see in the attitude of the figures.

The linear development, which we observe, e.g. from the Primitive to the Classic and on to the Romantic (and its refinement into Rokoko) and again back to primitive elements, is, of course, not undisputed. '... experience has warned us against any assumption that a grosser form necessarily precedes a more refined one; humanity moves by zigzags, in cycles, by way of complication, and indeed degeneration quite as often as, if not more often than, by advance' (C. C. Martindale). Admitting the truth of this statement (which refers to religions), we cannot but pay heed, in the realm of the arts, to evidence. Until anything new will be unearthed in Kafiristan, its sculptures must be regarded as aboriginal forms, influenced by nothing else than the traceable descendancy from the Aryan Olympus, in a strange transvestment of gobbled-up Persian and Mohammedan attire, assumed visually at a time when the spirit of these cultures was by no means absorbed by the local artists. Regarding any other parallel features we might be inclined to see, we must, with Martindale, recognize, supported by inspection and observation of contemporary psychology, the extreme improbability of the minds of races other than that of the student (in time, origin or culture), acting as his does, save in what can be proved to be fundamental in human nature. When this is found, the probability of

similar parallel consequences always take precedence over the theory of loans between one cult or another, when these cannot historically be proved.

Summing up, we have come to perceive a multiple relationship of all primitive art, arising not from contacts over land and sea, but stemming from the same psychological sources; we have convinced ourselves that the artists from the Hühnekush have given to posterity some of the very few remaining primitive sculptures in Asia (of which other continents are so rich; but in Asia advanced civilization arose very early and obliterated them); we perceive in our sculptures examples of expressionist work before expressionism was cast into contemporary theories, existing, however, as a symbol-creating force today as it was in the remotest past.¹

¹ Paper read at the Society on 7th January, 1950.

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PLATE I. A

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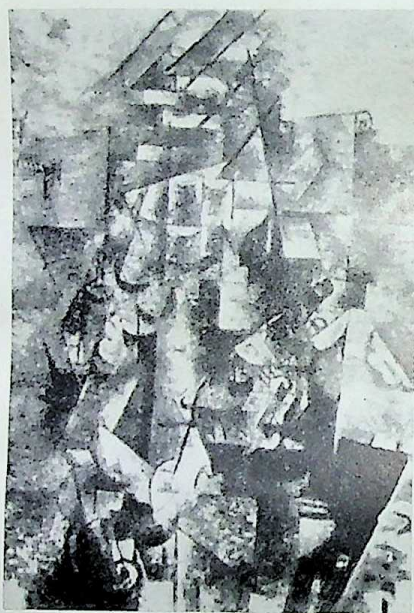


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KRISHNA DVAIPĀYANA VYĀSA AND KRISHNA VĀSUDEVA

By DR. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A. (Cal.), D.Lit. (London), F.R.A.S.B.

(Received March 28, 1950)

ANCIENT INDIAN CIVILIZATION—A COMPOSITE THING

It is now generally admitted that like most other civilizations, the ancient civilization of India is also a composite affair, being the result of the commingling of diverse elements contributed by peoples who originally belonged to different races, spoke different languages and possessed distinct types of culture (religion, mythology and traditions included). The ancient Indian, i.e. Hindu people also did not represent a single race in all its purity, but, like most other peoples, it was the result of the fusion of different racial groups which by the accident of history happened to have settled down side by side within the same geographical area of India, and inter-influencing and intermingling among whom were inevitable owing to this contiguity. At least four distinct types of peoples with their distinct languages and their original cultures connected with these languages form the basis of the present-day people of India and its distinctive civilization, which became characterized some 2,500 to 3,000 years ago. These distinct peoples can be labelled as *Nishāda*, *Drāviḍa*, *Kirāta* and *Ārya*, largely following ancient Indian nomenclature; respectively Austro or Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan or Indo-Mongoloid, and Indo-European or Indo-Aryan, to give the current European names or equivalents. The language of the Aryan section of this composite people (as it was being fused into that chemical compound the ancient Indian Hindu people from a mechanical mixture of various elements just happening to come and live side by side in North India), became the official vehicle of this new and ever-expanding Hindu nation, as Sanskrit. Sanskrit as the exponent as well as symbol of Hindu culture became responsible for giving to the Aryan element a predominance which was more than its due. It was believed, thanks to the general acceptance of Sanskrit all over Hindudom, that Hindu civilization was Aryan civilization, and Hindu philosophy and religion were but later phases of Aryan religion and philosophy; and the component non-Aryan elements were lost sight of, or were not understood, and just a few things were looked upon as survivals from a pre-Aryan barbarism. The assumption was that the pre-Aryan peoples of India were not at all civilized, and whatever was great and noble and of abiding value in the civilization of India was the gift of the Aryans.

But all that estimate does not hold good any more. A large number of evidences have made a restatement of the situation a necessity. We have now realized, or are slowly realizing, that some of the fundamental things in Hindu civilization, including both material and social and intellectual aspects of life, are of non-Aryan origin. The Aryan language itself, including the most important form of it in ancient times, viz.: Sanskrit, had come to be profoundly influenced by the non-Aryan languages, both *Drāviḍa* and *Nishāda*. Although the position of the Sanskrit language in the history of Hindu civilization, as being the vehicle through which its highest achievements in the intellectual side have been given to humanity for over twenty-five centuries, has given an outward Aryan cachet to Hindu civilization, we

may say, talking in the Indian way, that 12 to 14 annas in the rupee in Indian culture and religion are of non-Aryan origin. The Indian way of life, including food and raiment (some grain staple, rice or millet or wheat, eaten with peas or lentils; and two pieces of unsewn cloth as a lower garment and an upper one, with a third piece for men to tie round their heads as a turban), social order (with the institution of caste), and general mentality (the idea of tolerance, and acceptance of the policy of 'live and let live'), is either of non-Aryan origin or developed within a mixed milieu. Indian philosophy (the Vedānta, and Yoga) and Indian religious practices (the *pūjā* ritual, as opposed to the Aryan *hōma* or fire sacrifice) as well as the later Puranic pantheon and the Puranic myth and legend cycles were similarly the product of a fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan elements.

THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS: NISHĀDA, DRĀVIḌA, KIRĀTA AND ĀRYA

The Aryan advent into India was unquestionably the most important event in the evolution of a composite culture like the Hindu. The peoples who came to India with their different languages, cultures and mentalities represented, according to the latest anthropological pronouncement which can be accepted as authoritative on the subject, six different races in their nine variations. We are more interested in the languages they brought and the cultures we can associate with them than in the racial types they represented. It is not yet possible to give with any amount of certitude (although we may feel inclined to think that our guess furnishes the most reasonable hypothesis, under the circumstances) the datation of the arrival of peoples belonging to these different races into India. India is believed not to have been the place of origin of any kind of man: no type of the *homo sapiens* evolved from any kind of anthropoid ape on the soil of India, and all her human inhabitants originally came from outside.

The oldest people to come to India were a race of Negroids who came from Africa along the coastlands of Arabia and Iran. They survive in one or two insignificant tribes in South India, where they speak some debased forms of the Dravidian speech, and they are found (in a few hundreds only) in the Andaman Islands where they have preserved their language and a good deal of their old ways. Survivals of these Negroids are found among other peoples, notably the Austriacs who came after them, and among the Indo-Mongoloids in the Naga Hills. The Negroids belonged to the colithic stage of culture, and were wandering food-gatherers, not settled food-producers. It would appear they had died out (at least in Northern India) when the Aryans came after 1500 B.C. The arrival of the Negroids might have taken place some 7,000 years from now: it might have been earlier still.

Next to these Negroids came a very early offshoot of the primitive Mediterranean people—the Proto-Australoids. These came from the West, and made India their centre of dispersion. From India they passed on to Ceylon, and through Malaya and Java to Australia. The Proto-Australoids who stayed on in India became modified as the Austriac or Austro-Asiatic people, who furnish a prominent element among the lower classes throughout the whole of India. As Austriacs, they spread into Indo-China and Malaya and the islands of Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia, mingling with the Mongoloid, Negroid and other racial groups in those lands far away from India. The Indian Austriacs are believed to have developed the primitive Austriac speech which is represented at the present day by the Kōi or Munda languages of India (San'ali, Mundari, Ho, Bhumij, Korku, Gadāba, Savarā, etc.), by Khāsi of Assam, by Mon or Taleng and

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other dialects of Burma, by Khmer or Cambodian and other allied speeches of Indo-China, and by Nicobarese, on the one hand, and by Malay and other Indonesian languages, by Fijian and other Melanesian languages, and by the various Polynesian languages on the other. The Indian Austriacs were a long-headed, straight-haired, flat-nosed people. The Aryans first knew them as *Nishādas*, and then as *Bhillas* and *Kollas* (particularly in their primitive state in the hills and jungles of Central India). They supply one of the basic elements in the formation of the Hindu people.

Next we have the Dravidian speakers, who are believed to be members of a civilized Mediterranean race who came to India with a highly advanced civilization, and who were in three distinct groups. The city cultures of South Panjab and Sindh, remains of which have been discovered at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro and other sites, are believed to have been their creation. These Dravidian-speakers (who appear to have been known to the Vedic Aryans as *Dāsas* and *Dasyus*) formed, after the Aryans, the most powerful of the various elements in the Indian population. They were strong in Western and in Southern India particularly, but they had spread through the Ganges Valley also, where they were evidently living side by side with the Austriacs (much as the Dravidian Oraons and the Austriac Mundas are doing in Chota Nagpur at the present day). The Dravidian contribution to Indian civilization has been exceedingly important. Dravidian advent took place over 5,000 years ago: the Sindh and South Panjab culture goes back to some 3000 B.C.

The third pre-Aryan element in India is the Mongoloid one. The ancient Aryans knew them as *Kirātas*. Mongoloid tribes speaking languages or dialects of the Sino-Tibetan family appear to have arrived into India as early as the end of the second millennium B.C. They might even be earlier in India: a Mongoloid head in *terra cotta* has been found in the Sindh city remains. The *Kirāta* people are mentioned in the Yajur Veda and in the Atharva Veda as living in the caves and hills. They became established in Nepal and other tracts to the south of the Himalayas, and in North Bihar, North and East Bengal, and Assam. Their influence was not as powerful in the formation of Hindu civilization as that of the Dravidians, the Austriacs and the Aryans, as they did not spread over the whole of India: the *Kirātas* just touched a fringe of the Hindu world. But in Himalayan India, in North Bihar, in North and East Bengal and in Assam, they had a very great importance.

The Aryans came to India during the second-half of the second millennium B.C. They were a section of the Indo-Iranian branch of the primitive Indo-European people whose passage into India, after centuries of sojourn on the way, was through the Caucasus, Eastern Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Iran, from their original homeland in the Eurasian plains to the south of the Ural mountains. A semi-nomadic people who moved about with their herds and flocks, they did some agriculture, and came to India from Iran in quest of new homes. Not very much advanced in material culture, they were nevertheless an organized and a disciplined people, imaginative and adaptive, whose language with the mentality behind it was their greatest asset. They found India to be a land shared among the Dravidians and the Austriacs—at least in the Panjab and in the western Gangetic plains; and this diversity of language and culture among the original inhabitants of the land was their great opportunity, to set themselves up as conquerors and to get their own speech accepted. The Aryans in the Panjab and in Upper Gangetic India were not long in mixing with the non-Aryans, and a racial fusion started which resulted in the final formation of the Hindu people in Northern India by 1000 B.C.

CONSCIOUS LEAD GIVEN TO RACIAL AND CULTURAL FUSION

It may be confidently asserted that the Aryan-non-Aryan racial and cultural admixture had started even before 1000 B.C., as soon as the Aryans settled down in the country and were soon under the necessity of modifying their life and ways both according to the climate and to the *milieu* of corporate existence presented by the large already-settled pre-Aryan populations. The approximation to pre-Aryan life and ways and habits of thinking was generally an unconscious process, particularly when inter-marriage among the Aryans and the Dravidians and Nishādas began to be easy with ever-increasing groups of the latter adopting the Aryan speech abandoning their own.

But it would appear that this cultural fusion was not entirely an unconscious process, the result of merely the blind forces of racial miscegenation operating themselves and making cultural mixture an inevitable corollary. It seems that mankind here, as in many other contexts, was not a passive pawn in the game of destiny, but had some notion of what was going on, and through the agency of a few of its thought-leaders participated consciously in this mutual acculturation, and even sought to direct it along channels which appeared to it to be inevitable and at the same time which promised to be beneficial for all concerned.

Two such thought-leaders and men of action appeared in Northern India when the racial and cultural fusion was well under way, and they sought to give the direction to the process at work. That they were successful in their objective would appear to be clear from two things—firstly, the orientation that Hindu thought and the Hindu attitude to life took up for all subsequent time; and secondly, the veneration with which these two great leaders of the Hindu world at its inception *quā* Hindu world have been regarded all through. These two greatest personalities—for as such they can be described without any travesty—in the ancient Hindu world (and among the greatest in the history of mankind as well) were *Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva Vārshṇeya*, Krishna the son of Vasudeva of the Vrishni clan, and *Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa*, Krishna the Island-born One, the Arranger. They were contemporaries, the latter being the elder of the two; they were connected with the *Mahābhārata* heroes, and were among the principal participants in the historic events underlying the great epic.

VYĀSA AND KRISHNA: 10TH CENTURY B.C.

The *Mahābhārata* epic may be said to centre round these two personalities. Of the two national epics of India, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, which took something like their present shape during the first few centuries after Christ, the former was a veritable *kāvya*, an artistic narrative poem which was the work of a single poet, and was on a theme—a composite plot of many parts—on the life and adventures of the hero Rāma whose historicity has not been admitted by any serious student of ancient Indian history, notwithstanding the fact that the work as it stands has been of very great cultural and moral significance in the Hindu world for centuries. Vālmiki is the *Adi-Kavi*, the first conscious poet of a narrative story: his characters are true in spirit, though not in history. But the *Mahābhārata* is on quite a different footing. Behind the huge poem which took its present shape by 400 A.D. was a series of historical ballads narrating a primitive *saga* about the adventures of the *Pāṇḍavas* and their final fight at Kurukshetra with their relatives the sons of Dhritarāshtra, and this *saga* is believed by most students of Indology to possess an actual historical or

factual basis. Krishna Vāsudeva and Krishna Dvaipāyana unquestionably both belong to the historical kernel of the epic.

The probable age of the historical events underlying the *Mahābhārata* has not been decided or accepted unanimously by all scholars, and the dates proposed range from a traditional (but far from historical) 3000 B.C. to 950 B.C. This is not the occasion to discuss the question *in extenso*. The present writer is inclined to regard the period tenth century B.C. (between 1000 and 900 B.C.) as the most likely date for the historic events underlying the *Mahābhārata*—the time when Vyāsa and Krishna Vāsudeva, and the five Pāndava brothers, and other personalities who have a vital place in the story, and in so far as they are historical, lived and died. This date has been arrived at by totally different lines of investigation by two scholars, the Englishman F. E. Pargiter and the Indian Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri. The former, Pargiter, pinned his faith on the *Purāṇas* (although they are post-Christian in their present form) as being genuine repositories of the Kshatriya tradition, refusing to rely on the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Upanishads* and other post-Vedic literature as being sacerdotal and biased in spirit; and the latter, Dr. Ray Chaudhuri, has treated the evidence of the *Purāṇas* as but ancillary and corroborative, and has relied on incidental references to the *Mahābhārata* characters and to the chronology suggested by the generations of teachers which occur in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanishads* as being of far greater value (since they are nearer in time to the *Mahābhārata* period) than the *Purāṇa* accounts, in which an irresponsible spirit of poetry and romance has distorted sober history.

With regard to the date of Krishna, the following observations from Dr. L. D. Barnett are *à propos*, and form a confirmation, from the Jain side, of the tenth century B.C. suggested as the date of Krishna:

‘One of the main foci of Kṣatriya traditions is the Bhārata War, which with Mr. Pargiter and Dr. Law I regard as an historical event, though much obscured by fable. In connection with it I would venture to point to a fact which hitherto, I believe, has not received the attention it merits, namely the corroboration supplied by Jain legend. As is well-known, the Jain Tirthamkara Mahāvīra-Vardhamāna was preceded by the Tirthamkara Pārśvanātha, whose predecessor again was Ariṣṭanemi, whom Jain traditions represent as a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa (Kaṇha) Vāsudeva. If we may assume an interval of 200 years between each of these Tirthamkaras, as seems on general grounds most suitable, we bring Ariṣṭanemi’s date up to about 1000 B.C., which very nearly corresponds with the date assigned on other grounds by Mr. Pargiter to the Bhārata War, in which according to tradition Kṛṣṇa took part, namely 950 B.C.’—(Foreword to *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, Vol. I, by Bimala Churn Law, Calcutta, 1924.)

We are quite content to follow F. E. Pargiter and Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri and L. D. Barnett in accepting the tenth century B.C. as the time for Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa and Krishna Vāsudeva, as this accords very well with one or two other important considerations.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF KRISHNA DVAIPĀYANA VYĀSA: THE INAUGURATOR OF THE LITERARY HERITAGE AND TRADITION OF INDIA

We may begin with Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa as the elder contemporary of Krishna Vāsudeva first. In the *Mahābhārata* story, his position can be well understood when we find that he was the grandfather of the Pāndava and Kaurava heroes, having begotten Dhritarāṣṭra and Pāndu on the wives of his step-brother according to the custom of the levirate. He was like Bhishma a Nestor among *Mahābhārata* heroes, and at times

behaved like a *Deus ex machina*. He was one of the first to appreciate the greatness of his younger contemporary Krishna Vāsudeva. But Krishna Dvaipāyana is important in the history of Indian culture for another great reason. According to tradition, he is at the head of Indian literature—he did a two-fold service by compiling the four Vedas, and by compiling the 18 Purāṇas, in addition to composing the *Mahābhārata* epic. That is, he is credited with collecting the mass of oral religious literature in the shape of hymns to the deities, of charms and incantations, and of ritualistic formulae which was current among the Aryan-speaking community of his day, and compiling them into the four Veda books; and he is further credited with having been a great antiquarian and lover of literature, who collected the mass of myths and legends and old tales about princely heroes and religious men which were current among the people of the Aryan pale, of mixed Aryan-non-Aryan origin, and his collections formed, we may reasonably deduce, the nucleus or basis of the *Purāṇas* of later times. *Veda* and *Purāṇa*, the oldest things in Indian literature, thus traditionally owed their literary shape to the labours of Krishna Dvaipāyana. For his service in compiling the Vedas, he came to obtain the sobriquet of *Vyāsa* or the Arranger—or *Veda-Vyāsa*, the Arranger of the Vedas.

The service rendered by Vyāsa to the Indian people at a crucial juncture in their formative stage was analogous to that performed by Homer when the Greek people of history was similarly being formed through a fusion of the Indo-European speaking Hellenes arrived from the North and the pre-Indo-European Aegean peoples. Of course, it is understood that Vyāsa Krishna Dvaipāyana is probably only typical of a number of other Vyāsas, collectors, compilers, and arrangers of oral literature and oral or written myths and legends, who doubtless ante-dated and post-dated him: just as Homer is only typical of the various poets and singers who composed and sung lays about the heroes relating to the Trojan and other cycles. The service done by Vyāsa, however, far exceeded that done by Homer. For Vyāsa compiled both a mass of religious literature and a mass of heroic legend and poetry for the Aryan-speaking Indians, whereas Homer gave only a mass of heroic legends (framed no doubt in most enduring and truthful poetry) for the Indo-European speaking Hellenes. Yet in spite of the largely secular character of his compositions or compilations, Homer stands at the head of both the literary and the religious traditions of the ancient Greek people.

The four Veda books, then, were compiled by Vyāsa in the tenth century B.C., during which century the Kurukshetra battle was fought. Collections of traditional myths, legends, and history or semi-history began also to be made in the Aryan language in India. Both these literary innovations or inaugurations could be possible only through the adoption of a system of writing for the Aryan tongue. The Aryans had no alphabet or script of their own, whereas the Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro people, who were in all likelihood primitive Dravidian speakers, had a script of which we can see three stages from the seals and other inscriptions themselves. The Aryans can only be expected to get the idea of reducing their language to writing from what they observed among these pre-Aryan Dravidians. The oldest system of writing associated with the Aryan language in India, the Brāhmī, is found to be quite a well-established and a finished system of writing by the fourth century B.C. An ultimate Phœnician origin for the Brāhmī alphabet was suggested at one time by Pictler and other eminent Indian archaeologists. But that opinion requires revision, and it seems more likely that the Brāhmī originated on the soil of India from the latest form of the Mohen-jo-Daro script. It was thus a pre-Aryan system modified and adapted to the Aryan language in India. Now, in the fourth

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century B.C., Brāhmī was not yet a perfected script—it was still hesitating in its orthography and did not as yet know how to indicate all the sounds in combination (e.g. the double consonants were all written singly). The beginnings of Brāhmī of the fourth century B.C. as a *Proto-Brāhmī* may very well go back to the tenth century B.C. This would accord very well with the compilation of the Veda books and of the primitive Purāṇas in the Aryan language, as soon as it got an alphabet of its own.

Tenth century B.C. for Veda-Vyāsa would give a lower limit for Vedic literature, roughly the time when it was compiled, or rather, *when it started to be compiled*. Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri has shown how, even for some centuries after the actual compilation of the four Vedas, the Vedic (*Samhitā*) Canon still remained open and was far from being finally sealed or closed. The Vedic texts indicate the situation for the Aryan language in India in the tenth century B.C., and the Indo-Aryan Vedic speech is very close in form and spirit to Old Persian of the Cuneiform inscriptions of the sixth century B.C. and to Avestan (*Gāthā* speech) of about the same or slightly earlier date. Ray Chaudhuri would give the eleventh century B.C. as the date for the *composition* of a good deal of the Rigveda. But it is quite possible that the oldest hymns go back to some centuries earlier still, and then at that time the language was not Vedic, or Rig-vedic, but it was the earlier phase of it, which may be called late *Indo-Iranian* or late *Aryan* (taking *Aryan* in the narrow and specialized sense to mean the hypothetical speech that is the immediate source of both Vedic and Avestan).

VEDIC AND SANSKRIT LITERATURE STARTED BY VYĀSA A UNIFYING FACTOR IN INDIA, THE ALL-INCLUSIVE REPOSITORY OF INDIAN LORE AND THOUGHT

The Vedic hymns, those of the Rig and the Atharva Vedas, and the ritualistic formulae of the Yajur Veda, refer specifically to the Aryan heritage of the Aryan-speaking people of North India (Panjab and West Ganges Valley people) among whom existed a very large submerged non-Aryan element. The Aryan worship by means of burnt offerings (*homa*) was the officially recognized religious rite among a people who were being ruled over by scions of Aryan conquerors and by priests of Aryan origin; but the religion, cults and traditions of the linguistically Aryanized non-Aryan groups were there. And non-Aryan or pre-Aryan traditions and semi-history as well as myths and legends, as current among the *Drāviḍas* (*Dāsas* and *Dasyus*) and the *Nishādas*, were becoming interlinked and interwoven with Aryan traditions and myths and legends, particularly when the Aryan ruling houses became the inheritors of the pre-Aryan ones, whether by conquest or by inter-marriage. The non-Aryan heritage in religion and tradition, particularly in tradition, myth and legend, got inextricably mixed with the Aryan ones. There was a certain amount of resistance at this fusion, doubtless: we get echoes of this resistance from the Aryan side (e.g. in the *Vṛśākapi* hymn, Rig-veda X, 86; and in the opposition to both Krishna Vāsudeva as a rival of Indra, and to Śiva as a deity who had no Vedic status, which we find in the *Purāṇas*); and from the non-Aryan side there would be, as we can easily understand as being the case of a conquered people, far less of opposition when a synthesis would be in the air: in fact, we may suspect that the synthesis would be supported by the generality of the non-Aryans, and supported most eagerly by the mixed people which was coming into being as the inheritors of both the worlds of the Aryan and the non-Aryan.

The Aryan conquest of North-Western India was posterior to 1500 B.C.—it might have been even a couple of centuries later. But non-Aryan traditions of their kings and rulers go back to centuries before 1500 B.C. And it is these traditions that are largely the *Purāṇa* traditions. We may recall the situation in nascent Greece. It was largely the traditions, legends and myths of the pre-Hellenic Aegeans which were rendered into the Indo-European Greek language, and which combined with those of the Indo-European invaders and became the national heritage of the mixed Aegean and Indo-European Hellenic Greeks of classical times. Mycenaean artifacts have recently been discovered which have demonstrated how the story of Oidipous, and the myths of Artemis the huntress and of Persephoneia's descent into Hades (typical of other similar ancient Greek stories and myths) are really pre-Hellenic.

Dvaipāyana Vyāsa compiled the Aryan heritage in sacred or religious lore into the Veda books, and he also gave the great impetus towards collecting and disposing in handbooks or literary treatises (to which evidently he himself gave an appropriate name—*Purāṇa*) the mass of myths and legends (of both Aryan and non-Aryan origin) which were current among the Aryan-using or Aryan-speaking people of c. 1000 B.C. We should remember in this connection his antecedents: he was a half-caste, or, rather, a quadroon, according to universally accepted Puranic testimony, narrated in the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Purāṇas*, being the son of a Brahman and a Rishi—an Aryan priest and sage—Parāśara (who himself is said to have had a *Caṇḍālā* woman as his mother) and of Satyavati (Matsyagandhā) the daughter of a *Dāsa* (probably Dravidian-speaking) chief whose people followed the calling of fishermen. His mother who was then unmarried later became the queen of the proud Aryan Kshatriya King Śāntanu of the Kuru tribe; and her son by Śāntanu dying childless, Vyāsa by the law of levirate which was practised by the Indian Aryans raised sons on his step-brother's wives. These and scores of other incidents narrated as a matter of course in the *Mahābhārata* show how much of this racial miscegenation was being carried on in practice, at a stage of social evolution when the *anuloma* and the *pratiloma* connections (in the former of which the man was of the superior race, in the latter the woman) both were regarded as quite common-place.

The position of Vyāsa as the first gatherer of myths and legends so tremendously caught the imagination of the mixed Hindu people that he was looked upon as the *fons et origo* of all traditional lore relating to myths and legends of the past in any part of India. The voluminous 18 *Purāṇas*, and the numberless other similar works like the *Upa-purāṇas*, were all feathered on him in later times. Vyāsa appears to have belonged to the Kuru-Panchālā country, but other centres of *Purāṇa* compilation like Naimishāranya came also to be associated with his name or with that of his disciples. Moreover, he was credited with composing the story of the Kauravas and Pandavas in an *ādi-Mahābhārata*, an original poem with the title *Jaya* or 'Victory', giving an account of the final victory of the Pāṇdavas over the Kauravas. This itself is not an impossible thing—like Ossian in the Irish legend, Vyāsa as an old, old bard and seer could very well have poetized on the fortunes of his grandsons after they lived and strove and loved and fought and passed away. But it is equally likely that the first draft, or the first series of ballads on the Kuru-Pāṇḍava strife was composed by the son of a Sūta or professional bard Loma-harshana or 'the Hair-raiser' (a fitting name for a story-teller!), whose own personal name was Bṛhasravas; and an exaggerated respect for Vyāsa did not tolerate any other authorship for the most popular story which became the epitome of ancient Hindu life and history and the national epic of India.

Krishna Dvaipāyana was thus a Bishop Percy on a really stupendous —one may say, a Himalayan scale, who gave a cultural cohesion to a mixed people of Nishāda, Drāvida, Kirāta and Ārya origin, making them feel as one people, by giving them a national literature in the Aryan's language which had become acceptable to the other three groups. This national literature he gave by gathering relics of religious poetry, folk poetry, legendary and historical lore, and *saga* of all sorts. We cannot insist too urgently on this great contribution of his to Hindudom racially and culturally: apart from other aspects of his personality or career as a thinker and philosopher.

Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa remained after all a man and a sage —a divine sage who may be called the **Official Founder of Brahmanical Hinduism** by giving it its scriptures (if it is permissible to use this expression in connection with a religion which has no set dogmas attributable to a single individual and no historical event or personality as its fundamental pivot, and is more a federation of religions and cultures than a single faith with its single distinctive creed or *cachet* or attitude).

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF KRISHNA VĀSUDEVA: HIS HISTORICITY AND PERSONALITY

But with regard to Krishna Vāsudeva, it has been quite different. From a very human personality, he has become a divinity, an incarnation of the Godhead, nay, even the Divinity itself. The process of Euhemerism could not go any further. Legends and wonder-tales, heroic achievements and romantic deeds, and supernatural doings before which the imagination staggers, combined with a religious exaltation of the most intense and intimate type, have transformed Krishna into a veritable god whom it would be at first sight impossible to bring down to his original human character and environment. Yet this attempt has been made several times, and for the first time probably by the great novelist and thought-leader of Bengal and India, Bankim Chandra Chatterji (in his *Krishna-Caritra*, in Bengali, Calcutta, second edition, 1892). The most up-to-date and at the same time the most reasonable essay in restoring the historical Krishna has been from Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri (in Lecture II—'the Life of Krishna Vasudeva and the Early Progress of Bhagavatism', pp. 62-118, in his *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, second edition, Calcutta, 1936). It is not necessary to recapitulate what Ray Chaudhuri has said. It can only be mentioned that Krishna was a member of the Satvat or Vrishni (*Vṛṣṇi*) sept of the Yadu clan of Kshatriyas; that his father was Vāsudeva, and his mother Devakī was in all likelihood a non-Aryan princess, the sister of King Kamsa of Mathurā; that from fear of his uncle he had to be sent immediately after his birth to a settlement of wandering herdsmen; that later on he slew his uncle and set his maternal grandfather (whose seat was usurped by his son Kamsa) on the throne once again; that he led a migration of the Yadu clan from the Upper Ganges Valley to Saurāshtra; that he was a friend and relation of the Pāndavas and a particular friend of Arjuna who had married his sister Subhadrā; that he was a great religious teacher and leader who in a way propounded a new philosophy of absolute surrender to God's will and of disinterested performance of one's duty in life, cultivating at the same time certain high moral virtues, and he gave but a secondary place to ritualistic worship such as the Aryan priesthood inculcated; and that he was one of the first to recognize that different rituals of worship were but different paths which all led to God, so long as there was sincerity, and desire to do good through one's actions.

Another positive fact about his life seems to be that he was a disciple of the Sage Ghora Āngirasa from whom he obtained the germs of his future philosophy that a moral life and the cultivation of virtues like truth, self-restraint, sincerity or honesty, non-injury to all living creatures, religious penance, renunciation and maintenance of clarity of thought are more important than following the Vedic sacrifices and rites.

We can arrive at precious little in the way of positive facts about the life of Krishna the Man. We can see the stages by which he has been set up on the high pedestal of a God. How he was transformed into or identified with the Vedic Sun-God Vishnu, and how Bhagavatism or faith in a personal Divinity became a part of the Vishnu-Krishna cult, has been discussed in the most able and convincing manner by Ray Chaudhuri in his book mentioned above. The Vedic Sun-God Vishnu would appear to have merged into a non-Aryan (Dravidian) Divinity of cosmic significance, a Divinity which pervaded the universe typified by the blue sky (cf. Tamil *Viṇ* = 'Sky' and Prakrit *Viṇhu*, *Veṇhu* = *Viṣṇu*) and which was full of solicitude for the welfare of man. As the centuries passed, Krishna Vāsudeva as an incarnation of Vishnu-Nārāyaṇa gathered round him fresh legends, and old human stories or events connected with his mundane existence as a human being were transformed into marvellous and supernatural adventures. Thus in the Pali *Jātaka* we are told that Krishna (Kaṇha), wise man though he was, was captivated by the charms of a pretty Chandāla or non-Aryan girl of the lower classes and married her, and this girl Jambāvātī became one of his wives. (The *Mahāummagga Jātaka*, no. 546, and the Commentary to it.) But in the later Purāṇa legends Jambāvātī became Jāmbavātī, the daughter of the King of the Bears, and Krishna's marriage with her was narrated as the *finale* of an adventuresome story in which a miraculous gem (the *syamantaka-maṇi*) and a court intrigue featured. The romantic Rādhā legend with all its ramifications and local variations was developed during the second half of the first millennium A.D., over 1,500 years after the days of the historical Krishna, from the earlier story of his sojourn as a child and a youth with the nomadic herdsmen of *Vṛndāvana* and likely petty love affairs with their girls during the period of his asylum with them. The earlier *Jātaka* stories, in the main pre-Christian, give us glimpses of a very human Krishna, some of which have been noted by Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri, and these give the impression that there was an actual human teacher and hero behind the transformed divinity. Jain sources also give us glimpses of a similar human Krishna.

ARYAN AND NON-ARYAN IN INDIAN RELIGION AND THOUGHT:

ĀGAMA AND NIGAMA, PŪJĀ AND HOMA

Nomadic Aryanism was being transformed by the wider worlds of the advanced city civilization of the Dravidians and by the village culture and jungle lore of the Austrians. The racial intermixture which had set in loosened the foundations of the idea of a *Herrenvolk*—the *Conquistador* spirit—which the Aryans had brought. Men of Aryan origin, pure or mixed were already questioning the use of the elaborate Vedic sacrifices to the Gods. According to the Puranic legend, Krishna while he was living among the (possibly non-Aryan) cowherd people refused to give honour to Indra, the Aryan god *par excellence*, and gave his support to a cult of the Govardhana hill which was more in accordance to the non-Aryan mentality.

Indian tradition has all along admitted two strands in Indian religious philosophy and ritual—the Vedic, and the non-Vedic traditions—the *Nigama* and the *Āgama* respectively, to give the Indian names. The non-Vedic

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Āgama tradition is 'that which has come down' from time immemorial: it embodies the special teaching of Śiva imparted to Umā, and the Tantric doctrines and ritual and Yoga notions and practices come under it. The Āgama tradition is non-Aryan in origin, and it is exceedingly likely that it is very largely Dravidian in origin, although Austric and Sino-Tibetan elements later on were engrafted in it. The Nigama tradition is 'that which has come inside' as a later cultural imposition, the Vedic fire-ritual of the *homa*, from outside. One would suspect that the names Āgama and Nigama were first given by a supporter of the Āgama or Tantric system who believed in this doctrine to be the one older for the people and the country. However, the Vedic ritual and Vedic ideas loomed very largely in the life of the Aryan settlers, particularly the Aryan aristocrats; and the pre-Vedic, i.e. the pre-Aryan ritual and ideology were ignored, naturally enough, by the Vedic priests. But among the masses, particularly of the growing masses of Mestizos, the offspring of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages among the Aryans and non-Aryans, the older ideas and ritual can only be expected to persist, openly or surreptitiously according to the predominance or power of the protagonists of Vedism or Aryanism.

To unite the Aryan and the non-Aryan into one people, it was necessary that the Nigama should be combined with the Āgama, that the thirty-three Vedic gods, forces of nature with a slight amount of anthropomorphism or humanization should form members of the same pantheon as the great non-Aryan divinities of a cosmic significance who represented the stupendous physical as well as the subtle moral forces operative in the universe and were at the same time very human in their personified conceptions, divinities who later became Śiva and Umā and Vishnu and Śrī, among others, in a combined Aryan-non-Aryan or Brahmanical *Sudharmā* or Pantheon. It was necessary also that the Vedic ritual of the Fire Sacrifice, the *homa*, was to be on an equal footing with (or at least make some room for) the non-Aryan (both Dravidian and Austric) rituals of the Flower Offering and Blood Offering.

Among other vital things, enduring things in the spiritual uplift of man, Krishna Vāsudeva, as a great teacher who stood for sincerity and faith and not for any particular type of ritual, was probably the first to give formal recognition, in an Aryan-speaking society during the formative period of the North Indian Hindu people, to the non-Vedic, Agamic, Tantric or Puranic ritual of the *pūjā*, with all its ideology behind it: as much as he gave a formal and a full recognition to the mystic cult and ideology of the Yoga, also pre-Aryan in origin.

Homa or the Fire Ritual, and *Pūjā* or the Flower Ritual, represent two distinct worlds of religious thought or perception. The Flower Ritual of the *pūjā* is unknown to the Vedic religion: there the ritual is everywhere *homa*. The idea behind the *homa* is this. The gods are 33 in number. They are in Heaven. Agni or Fire is their messenger. The worshipper is not conscious of any immanent divine force or *mana* pervading the Universe: he knows only some individual gods and goddesses who are humanized forms of natural forces, like Fire, Wind, Sun, Dawn, Thunder, Rain, the Sky-Vault, Earth, etc. who are potent in giving or withholding their bounty in the shape of riches (cattle, horses, flocks and harvest in plenty), sons, and victory over enemies. They are approached in a spirit of friendly reliance; their attitude in worship is that of *do, ut des* (*dadāmi, uta dadāsi*), 'I give, so that you may give in return'. He gives as offerings the food he himself eats—meat and fat of a sheep or goat or cow or horse which he kills, barley bread, milk and butter, and an intoxicant (the *soma*) which he burns in fire kindled on an altar. The gods feel the savour of the burnt offering,

and are pleased; and give in return what is prayed for: the worship is done. The idea is simple and very primitive. It is the old Indo-European ritual of worship. It was the ritual current among the extra-Indian kinsmen of the Aryans—the Iranians, the Slavs, the Hellenes, the Italians, the Celts and the Germans. The Germanic word for the Divinity, *God* (as in English) meant only the libation to be poured into the fire itself personified (Indo-European **ghutóm* = Sanskrit *hutám*). Where they got it from is not known. The Sumerians, and following them the Semites, had a similar ritual of burnt offerings, but not the Egyptians, nor again the Aegeans, who simply made offerings of food before the images of the gods, offerings which were placed on raised stands or altars. The Indo-Europeans knew no images.

The *pūjā* ritual stands on quite a different footing. For the worshipper the whole universe is filled with a cosmic force or divine spirit, and the worshipper wants to have a personal communion or touch with it. For this purpose, he is taught that a magic ritual calling the divine spirit is potent enough to make it (or a portion of it) come and be installed within some symbol prepared to represent it—an image, a pot, a pebble, a tree or a branch of a tree, a picture, a design. By means of this ritual, the spirit comes into the symbol, and then it at once becomes a Living Presence for the worshipper endowed with faith; and it is after that treated as an honoured guest, even as a king on a visit to a subject of his. Water is poured over the symbol; flowers, leaves and fruit, and grains of rice or other corn as produce of the earth are offered to it; and cooked food, delicacies of all sort, are placed before it and offered, to become consecrated food with special sanctity. Dress and ornaments and jewellery are used to bedeck the symbol, particularly if it is an image. The divinity present in the symbol is regaled with music and dance and drama. Lights are waved before it after worship, in token of homage. When the divinity is worshipped under a terrible aspect, animals are sacrificed before it by decapitating (the Vedic or Aryan method of sacrifice was mostly by strangulation), and the blood of the victim is either placed before the image or symbol on a flat cup, or it is smeared over the image. Red sandal paste and vermilion were sometimes used, and these are doubtless substitutes for the red blood of the victim. Sandal paste as something cooling is applied to the image or other symbol. Then, after this ritual, the worshipper is at liberty to come to a personal relationship with his god by prayer and appeal and meditation. The image or symbol may be made, according to the wishes of the worshipper, a permanent or a temporary abode of the divine spirit, so to say. When the latter idea is in view, another magical ritual may be performed, and the spirit releases itself from the symbol, which becomes forthwith a useless material object with no further spiritual or religious potency.

The ideas of *homa* and *pūjā*, as it is apparent, had their birth in different *milieus*. The mixed Hindu people, and the Brahmanical faith of mixed origin, inherited both. The *homa* was exclusively Aryan, to which non-Aryans had no right as it was the special privilege of the Aryan. But everybody was welcome to the *pūjā* ritual. *Homa* was a rite in which ordinarily animal sacrifice was a necessary part: it was known also as *paśu-karma*. In *pūjā*, flowers are essential: it was, so to say, a *pūṣpa-karma*. Now, on this basis, the word *pūjā* of Sanskrit has been explained by Mark Collins as a Dravidian word—*pū* meaning 'flower', and the Dravidian root *cēy*, *gey* meaning 'to do' giving a compound form, in Primitive Dravidian of Vedic times, **pū-gey* = *pūṣpa-karma*, 'the flower ritual' (Jarl Charpentier suggested another derivation for the word *pūjā*, as being

from a Dravidian root *pusu* or *pucu* 'to smear', anointing with sandal-paste or vermilion or blood being in his opinion the basic element in the *pūjā* rite).

TOLERANCE, UNDERSTANDING AND ACCEPTANCE, KEYNOTE OF THE INDIAN SPIRIT, TAUGHT BY KRISHNA VĀSUDEVA

In the *Bhagavad-Gītā* section of the *Mahābhārata*, which as a finished work may belong to the period round about the birth of Christ, but which preserves the fundamental teachings of Krishna Vāsudeva (particularly along some of the lines of the teaching of his master Ghora Āngirasa as indicated in the *Chāndogya Upanishad*), we find in Chapter IX Krishna Vāsudeva giving his views as to the utility of formal worship as a means of attaining to the Ultimate Reality, which is here identified (doubtless by some later editor who believed in the divinity of Krishna) with Krishna himself. The Supreme Spirit, the Ultimate Reality, is to be known in its proper nature as the final Source of Existence as well as the Demiurge. Some try to know this Ultimate Reality through the path of knowledge, others try to approach it through faith. Those of no intellect form a lower conception of it. There are those who follow the Vedic (or Aryan) way—they perform the usual sacrifices, and as a result of which they obtain a period of sojourn in heaven, and again come down on earth—they do not obtain the final release from the bonds of existence. According to their own ideals and ideas, they attain to what they consider to be the *summum bonum* of existence. In Verses 22ff. of this IX Chapter of the *Gītā*, we have what may be called the Great Charter of Tolerance and Acceptance which became the fundamental characteristic of Brahmanical Hinduism (English translation by Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood):

ananyāś cintayantō mām yē janāḥ pary upāsātē,
tēṣām nityābhiyuktānām yōga-kṣēmaṁ vahāmy aham (22).

(But if a man will worship me, and meditate upon me with an undistracted mind, devoting every moment to me, I shall supply all his needs, and protect his possessions from loss.)

yē' py anya-dēvatā-bhaktā yajantē śrāddhayānvitāḥ,
tē' pi mām ēva, Kāuntēya! yajanty avidhi-pūrvakam (23).

(Even those who worship other deities, and sacrifice to them with faith in their hearts, are really worshipping me, though with a mistaken approach.)

aham hi sarva-yajñānām bhōktā ca prabhur ēva ca:
na tu mām abhijānanti tattvënātas cyavanti tē (24).

(For I am the only enjoyer and the God of all sacrifices. Nevertheless, such men must return to life on earth, because they do not recognize me in my true nature.)

yānti dēva-vratā dēvān, pitṛn yānti pitṛvratāḥ,
bhūtāni yānti bhutējyā, yānti mad'yājino' pi mām (25).

(Those who sacrifice to the various deities will go to those deities. The ancestor-worshippers will go to their ancestors. Those who worship the elemental powers and spirits will go to them. So, also, my devotees will come to me.)

patram ruṣpam phalaṃ tōyaṃ yō mē bhaktyā prayacchati,
tad aham bhakty-upāhṛtam aśnāmi prayatātmanaḥ (26).

(Whatever man gives me in true devotion: fruit or water, a leaf, a flower
I will accept it. The gift is love, his heart's dedication.)

yat karōṣi, yad aśnāsi, yaj juhōṣi, dadāsi yat,
yat tapasyasi, Kāuntēya! tat kuruṣva mad-arpanam (27).

(Whatever your action, food or worship; whatever the gift that you give
another; whatever you vow to the work of the spirit: O Son of Kuntī
lay these also as offerings before me.)

samō' haṃ sarva-bhūtēṣu, na mē dvēṣyō' sti, na priyaḥ:
yē bhajanti tu mām bhaktyā, mayi tē, tēṣu cāpy aham (29).

(My face is equal to all creation, loving no one, nor hating any. Nevertheless
my devotees dwell within me always: I also show forth and am seen within
them.)

Verse 26 as above is of utmost significance in the history of Hinduism
it is the admission of the non-Vedic rite of the *pūjā* as something which
is perfectly legitimate in religious worship. This is perhaps the oldest
reference to the *pūjā* ritual as having an efficacy comparable with the
orthodox Aryan *homa*. This was Krishna Vāsudeva's great achievement—he
had the vision to give an honoured place in the religious life of his day to
practice which was undoubtedly widely prevalent but which was viewed
askance by Vedic Aryandom, and particularly by the Aryan priesthood. The
attitude of exclusiveness did not die in one day: we find echoes of it in the
Manu-saṃhitā, in which Brahmans who worship images in temples are looked
upon as being heterodox, as compared with the stricter Brahmans confining
their ritual of worship to the Vedic sacrifices only.

The admission of the *pūjā* ritual was symbolic of the general
acceptance of the Dravidian and Austric and the Mongoloid religious
experience within an ever-expanding Brahmanical Hindu religion and
practice, which was only partly based on the world of Vedic religion.
In this and in other matters of very deep spiritual significance, Krishna
Vāsudeva was the innovator of a new epoch.

VIŚVĀSA AND KRISHNA, SHAPERS OF INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL DESTINY OF A GREAT PART OF HUMANITY THROUGH INDIA

This aspect of Krishna Vāsudeva's personality, as a conscious supporter
of the forces at work for a cultural fusion of the Aryan and non-Aryan
worlds, presents him in a new light. He, and Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa
as the greatest name in Indian literature who gave to India and the world
the nucleus at least of the Veda collections and the collections of ancient
Indian myths and legends, and perhaps also gave his *imprimatur* to the
Mahābhārata epic in its pristine form, therefore merit the grateful homage
of India and the world as presenting a great cultural synthesis,—the one
valuable intellectually and esthetically, and the other equally so socially
as well as morally and spiritually. In their basic characters, their historical
is quite legitimately admissible. We may visualize them as they probably
actually were in their life-time, with the Madhyadeśa or Midland, or what
now Western U.P. and Eastern Panjab, as the centre of their activities,
living and moving about in the stirring period of the *Mahābhārata* war in the
tenth century B.C., when another great people of classical antiquity, the
Hellenic people, was similarly having its birth in the west, in Greece.

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may imagine Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa as a dark-skinned person, not over-pleasant to look at, with the unkempt hair and long beard of a Brahman priest, his hair done in a top-knot, dressed in two pieces of woollen or cotton cloth, or with a deer skin flung on his shoulder and a tall stout bamboo stick in hand, moving about from village to village, meeting Brahman priests and obtaining Vedic hymns from them and listening to the panegyrics and narratives of kings of yore from the professional bards, and preparing his drafts of the four Vedas and of the Puranic compilations. Krishna Vāsudeva we might also imagine as being equally at home in the courts of princes and the hermitages or settlements of Brahmans and priests, very much in demand everywhere, listening and speaking with force his well-thought out and well-reasoned sentiments. Later legend has also dwelt upon some aspects of Krishna Vāsudeva's personal looks, and his dress: he was dark-skinned, too, as his name suggested, but he was a very handsome person; his hair was 'up-standing' (*Hṛṣi-kēśa*, as L. D. Barnett has suggested the meaning of the word); and he preferred to dress in yellow garments, and loved to stick peacock's feathers in his hair or turban or helmet. As charioteer of Arjuna he can also be visualized, driving with skill the four white horses harnessed abreast to the two-wheeled chariot, with a long flag pole with the image of a monkey on it, a vehicle on which both fighter and charioteer would take their stand: we can visualize him trying to induce a reasonable attitude in Arjuna on the eve of the great battle, and the arguments he used then may be found in part at least in the immortal *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

And the effect of the orientation given by Krishna Vāsudeva and Vyāsa to the civilization of India at its formative period was not confined to India alone. It made Hinduism (both as Brahmanism and Buddhism) one of the most important forces for the mental and spiritual uplift of man over a great part of the world, not only in ancient and medieval times, but also in the modern world. Vyāsa and Krishna through the Vedas and the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* have a message for India; they have also, directly or indirectly, a message for the whole world, wherever things of the spirit have an attraction for man.

Historically seen, we can have no hesitation in saying that Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa and Krishna Vāsudeva, both of mixed Aryan and non-Aryan origin, were the two first of the long series of great men who were born in India and who had a message for India as well as for humanity: Krishna, Vyāsa, Buddha, Mahāvīra, Pāṇini, Aśoka, Patañjali, Aśvaghoṣa, Kālidāsa, Māṇikka-vāchakar, Harsha-varḍhana, Śaṅkarācārya, Kabīr, Chaitanya, Nānak, Tulasī-dāsa, Akbar the Great, Dārā Shikoh, Rām Mohun Roy, Rāmakrishna Paramahansa, Swāmī Vivekānanda, Rabindranath Tagore, Rāmaṇa Maharshi, and others. And their greatness has been admitted in India in the traditional way, by conceiving of them as manifestations of the Divinity, following the spirit of the great lines of the *Gītā*—

yad yad vibhūti-mat sattvaṃ

śrīmad ūrjitam ēva vā:

tat tad evāvagaccha tvam

mama tējō'mśa-sambhavam. (X, 41.)

(Whatever in this world is powerful, beautiful or glorious, that you may know to have come forth from a fraction of my power and glory.)

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THE PAINTED GREY WARE OF THE UPPER GANGETIC BASIN

AN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE DARK AGE

By B. B. LAL

(Communicated by Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, O.B.E., Ph.D. (Cantab.))

(Received February 23rd, 1950)

Little is known of the material remains which can be placed within the vast interval, of about 1,500 years, between the Indus Valley Civilization of the third-second millennia B.C. and the cultures of the early historical periods ascribable to *circa* fourth-third centuries B.C. The picture of this gap is indeed a very hazy one and the few light-spots that we have are mutually disconnected. At Harappā, the cemetery H culture, known from its urn-burials, overlies the remains of the Harappā culture itself.¹ The Jhūkar and Jhāngar cultures, characterized respectively by buff ware with black and red paint and incised grey ware, are both post-Harappā, as revealed by the excavations at Chanhu-daro.² In southern Baluchistan there is another post-Harappā culture, namely that of the Shāhi Tump burials, having buff or grey ware with designs executed in black but sometimes also in red.³ In addition to the remains of these four cultures which are more or less localized, we have the various copper hoards of the Gangetic basin—the 'antennae' swords from Fatehgarh, chisels and harpoons from Rājpur, etc., etc.—which may also be ascribed (though not with absolute surety) to a period somewhere in this Dark Age.⁴ But beyond these few scraps of evidence there is nothing more to go by—and to think of producing a connected story of this gap is simply out of the question in the present state of our knowledge.

Then what to do? No doubt extensive exploration and intensive excavation at selected sites are the only ways to solve this problem, yet a little bit of planning seems imperative. We have two known points in the chronological scale, namely, the Indus Valley culture on the one hand and the cultures of the early historical periods on the other. Now if we can get a single site which may have the remains of the former culture at the bottom and of the latter towards the top, with an uninterrupted occupation between the two, our problem would be solved in no time. But since such a site seems to be more of a dream than of reality, we shall have to work out a series of sites to complete the story. We should look for two groups of sites, one, which may have the remains of Indus Valley culture at the bottom and of some further continuous occupation above them, and another, in which the remains of the early historical periods may be at the top and

¹ M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappā* (Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1940), I, pp. 203ff. and II, pls. XLIII ff.

² E. J. H. Mackay, *Chanhu-daro Excavations*, 1935-36 (New Haven, 1943), pp. 23ff. and 103ff.

³ A. Stein, *An Archaeological tour in Gedrosia* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 43, Calcutta, 1931), pp. 88ff.

⁴ V. A. Smith in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIV, 1905, pp. 229ff.; and Stuart Piggott in *Antiquity*, no. 72, December 1944, pp. 173ff.

of the successively preceding cultures underneath. Thus, with these two fixed points, one in the early part of the scale and another higher up, and working from the one towards the other, it would, it is hoped, be possible for us one day to bridge this gap.

The present paper deals with a typical class of pottery, the painted grey ware of the Gangetic basin, which calls for consideration while one is looking for the material remains of the period which preceded the early historical times, i.e., c. fourth-third centuries B.C.

This ware has a fine to medium-grained, light grey core, with the surface varying in shade from ashy to darkish grey. The grey colour of the pottery is apparently due to its being fired under reducing conditions in the kiln. The pots are usually wheel-turned, but instances of hand-made specimens are not wanting. The commoner types represented in this ware are bowls with slightly convex or, as in a few cases, round profile, and shallow dishes with sagger or flat base. The painted designs, which are invariably in black, seem to have been executed before firing. They include simple bands round the rim, both outside as well as inside (pl. 5, 1; fig. 1, 1 and fig. 4, 5); oblique or vertical or criss-cross lines, generally on the outside but sometimes also on the interior (pl. 5, 2-6, pl. 7, 5 and pl. 8, 9-11; fig. 1, 2-6 and fig. 3, 5, 9-11); concentric circles, usually on the inside of the base (pl. 5, 11 and pl. 7, 6-7; fig. 1, 11 and fig. 3, 6-7); groups of concentric semi-circles on the outside profile (pl. 5, 10; fig. 1, 10); parallel rows of dots or dashes or dots alternating with simple lines (pl. 5, 9 and 13 and pl. 6, 26-27, 29-31; fig. 1, 9 and 13 and fig. 2, 26-27, 29-31); and sigmas either on the outer profile (pl. 7, 1-2; fig. 3, 1-2) or on the interior of the base (pl. 7, 8; fig. 3, 8); horizontal chain of short spirals (pl. 7, 4; fig. 3, 4), etc. It may be noted that in a couple of examples an additional colour, red has also been used (pl. 5, 25 and pl. 8, 17; fig. 2, 25 and fig. 3, 17).

Hand in hand with the above-detailed grey ware there seems to have gone another class of pottery which has a medium-grained, grey core, but brownish-red slip. The designs on it are also executed in black (except in one case where cream colour has been used); but they do not show many a variety as in the case of the grey ware.

Up-to-date, this painted grey ware (including the brownish-red ware) has been recovered only from two sites in India, namely, Ahichchhatrā in District Bareilly and Hastināpura in District Meerut, both in the United Provinces (now called Uttara Pradesh). There would, it is expected, be many more sites containing this class of pottery but since not much exploration-work has been done in this direction, we do not know the correct position.

Before discussing the chronological horizon of the painted grey ware at Ahichchhatrā, it would be worthwhile to recapitulate the main results of the excavations conducted there during 1940-44.¹ The entire site, enclosed by a fortification-wall measuring about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in perimeter, was divided into several convenient plots for the purpose of excavation. One of them, ACIII, served as the key-plot to the entire site, since the excavation over here was fairly well-stratified. In it were encountered nine structural strata, I-IX, from the top downwards, whose dates have been worked out as follows:—

Stratum IX: before B.C. 300.

Stratum VIII: B.C. 300 to 200.

Stratum VII: B.C. 200 to 100.

¹ A. Ghosh and K. C. Panigrahi, 'The Pottery of Ahichchhatrā, District Bareilly, U.P.', *Ancient India*, no. 1 (Jan. 1946), pp. 37-59.

Stratum VI and V: B.C. 100 to A.D. 100.

Stratum IV: A.D. 100 to 350.

Stratum III: A.D. 350 to 750.

Stratum II: A.D. 750 to 850.

Stratum I: A.D. 850 to 1100.

The first defensive wall at Ahichchhatrā consisted of an earthen rampart and is ascribable to c. 100 B.C. A little later, another earthen rampart was added on to its top. During the fourth century A.D., a brick fortification-wall was erected on the top of the second earthen rampart. Three-four centuries later, a long partition-wall was constructed, dividing the fortified area into two parts, eastern and western. The occupation of the site continued till about A.D. 1100.

Turning to the provenance of the painted grey ware at Ahichchhatrā, we find that it was obtained only from two plots, namely, ACV and ACXV.¹ In ACV it lay in a heaped-up deposit, presumably a part of the earthen rampart, which incidentally also contained the 'northern black polished' ware. This heaped-up material must have doubtless been procured from elsewhere for the construction of the rampart. The evidence from this cutting therefore does not conclusively show that the painted grey and the black polished wares were co-eval, since they cannot be regarded to have been here in their real stratigraphical position.

In ACXV, it was the lowest levels that produced the painted grey ware. In the same cutting the earliest examples of the 'northern black polished ware' were recovered from deposits a few feet higher up. A doubt has been expressed as to whether the evidence from this cutting can be depended upon in view of the limited extent of the dig. True, that deep digging in ACXV was not carried out in an extensive area, yet the evidence from a trench as many as 30 feet long and 20 feet wide cannot be altogether discarded. As things stand at present, in ACXV the N.B.P. ware appears to have come later than the painted grey ware. But to be absolutely sure about it, it would be desirable to check up this evidence by means of a fresh, well-stratified excavation somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present cutting in ACXV.

The negative evidence from ACIII is also of great interest. Herein even the lowest stratum, IX, was devoid of both the painted grey ware and the black polished ware.² According to the datings mentioned above, stratum IX itself is ascribable to a period prior to 300 B.C. Thus if the negative evidence from ACIII has any meaning, both the painted grey and the N.B.P. wares should be regarded as still earlier.

To come to the evidence from Rājghāt, near Banaras. It has been stated that at this site the painted grey ware was found in the same levels as was the N.B.P. ware.³ I have looked into the available material from Rājghāt but have not been able to find in it anything like the painted grey ware of Ahichchhatrā under discussion.⁴ It seems to me that another

¹ Ghosh and Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, Appendix B, pp. 58-59.

² Information from Messrs. A. Ghosh and S. Mukerji. A few bits of the black polished ware were, however, obtained from a road-consolidation of stratum V which for obvious reason cannot be regarded as being in their proper context. Similar negative evidence was obtained from almost all the plots in the western part of Ahichchhatrā.

³ Ghosh and Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, Appendix B, p. 59.

⁴ I have also made enquiries from Mr. S. Mukerji, the officer-in-charge of the rescue-dig at Rājghāt, who says that he had not seen anything like this painted grey ware from the Rājghāt excavations. Enquiries made from Shri Vijayakrishna of the Bhārata Kalā Bhavana, Banaras, where the Rājghāt antiquities are now lodged, also confirm my statement.

class of pottery—a fine, red polished ware with designs executed in black—has been confused with the painted grey ware. Under the circumstances, the Rājghāt evidence, supposed to be showing that the painted grey and the N.B.P. wares were co-eval, loses all its weight and, I am afraid, has to be discounted.

As already stated above (p. 90), the only other site known so far to have yielded the painted grey ware is that of Hastināpura. Here the ancient mound, locally known as *Ullā kherā* (meaning a topsy-turvy mound), rises some 40–50 feet above the surrounding ground-level.¹ It is situated on an earlier bank of the Ganges, the present course of the river being nearly 7 miles further east.² The writer had an opportunity of visiting these ruins in October 1949 but could not stay there for more than a couple of days. During this short halt not much exploration could be carried out, yet some rain-gullies and other exposed sections of the mound were examined and some of them partially scraped too. It was revealed that the painted grey ware lay in levels roughly between 25 and 30 feet below the highest point of the mound. It was not clear as to what sort of pottery and other antiquities preceded the painted grey ware since in a couple of scrapings only clean mud several feet in thickness, was encountered below these levels. It is probable that this clean mud forms a part of the natural terrace of the river on which stood the first town of Hastināpura. However, leaving these uncertain earliest levels aside, we find that the painted grey ware was fairly low in the mound, as stated above. From the levels containing this painted grey ware were also recovered sherds of plain grey pottery with thin sections and also a few examples of the painted brown ware of the type described above (p. 90; for the Hastināpura examples, see pl. 5, 22–24; fig. 2, 22–24). These lower levels appeared to be devoid of the northern black polished ware, which was obtained a few feet higher up. From the levels still higher came a relatively coarser grey ware, above which was encountered a different class of medium-grained red ware with black decoration. The uppermost structures on this mound and the brick fortification-wall on the south may be fairly late, possibly of the medieval times.

No doubt the results from this short exploration cannot be taken as final and wholly conclusive yet there is a point which deserves notice, namely, that in the few exposed cuttings that could be examined the painted grey ware was found in levels which preceded those containing the northern black polished ware. Now, while on the one hand it is difficult to say that such a relationship between the two wares existed all over the site, it would, on the other, be also too much to argue that in the cuttings that were examined it was a sheer accident that the northern black polished ware was absent from the lower levels which contained the painted grey ware. Ordinarily, one would not have taken much cognizance of the Hastināpura evidence without a proper excavation of the site, but the fact that a similar sequence between the two wares was obtained from the excavations at Ahichchhatrā (above, p. 91) puts the Hastināpura evidence also in a bold relief. It is, however, probable that towards the later part of the career of the painted grey ware there may have been an overlap between it and the N.B.P. ware, but that the former was earlier in origin looks rather reasonably clear from the evidence available at present both from Ahichchhatrā and Hastināpura.

¹ There are a few more mounds in the neighbourhood which may also be fairly ancient but they could not be examined even to the extent as the one discussed here.

² The low-lying area between the earlier and the present banks of the river is known as *Jhadar*. In it but nearer the earlier bank one comes across a thin streamlet locally known as the *Burhī Ganga* (i.e. the old stream of the Ganges).

With this as the relative position of the painted grey ware, we may now attempt to work out its date. But, as is true of most of the proto-historic and in some cases even of the early historical datings in India, the dating in the present case also will have to depend largely on inferential rather than direct or absolute evidence. And this brings us to an obvious question as to what is the lower date-limit of the N.B.P. ware and whether that lower limit can also be applied to the Hastināpura and Ahichchhatrā examples. The available evidence regarding the date of the N.B.P. ware has been thoroughly discussed by Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler and Mr. Krishna Dev elsewhere.¹ Of the various sites which have yielded this ware, Taxila (Bhir Mound) provides the main bulk of datable evidence. At that site the N.B.P. ware was obtained mainly between 7 and 13 feet below the surface, while an average depth of 6 feet below surface could be assigned to *circa* 300 B.C. (coins of Alexander in mint-condition). 'In origin', they conclude, 'it (the N.B.P. ware) can well go back to fifth century B.C. and it is unlikely to have survived later than the early part of the second century B.C. The central point in time and space for the ware are thus (a) fourth century B.C., and (b) the Gangetic plain'.

The recent excavation at Kauśāmbī has also a similar story to tell. Here the N.B.P. ware has been recovered chiefly from levels ascribable to a period between the fifth-sixth and second centuries B.C.²

As has already been emphasized above, without an excavation at Hastināpura and fresh examination of the eastern sectors of Ahichchhatrā it would not be possible to date the painted grey ware finally; yet the evidence available at present cannot be altogether shelved. Thus, even if the central point of the N.B.P. ware, i.e. *circa* 400 B.C. (see above), is taken for the lower limit of the same ware at Hastināpura and Ahichchhatrā we see that the painted grey ware was still earlier in origin. It is needless to argue at this stage of our knowledge for an absolute date for this ware, but it would be perhaps reasonable to assign to it a date somewhere in the first half of the first millennium B.C.

Selected examples of painted grey and brownish-red wares from both Hastināpura and Ahichchhatrā are listed below:—

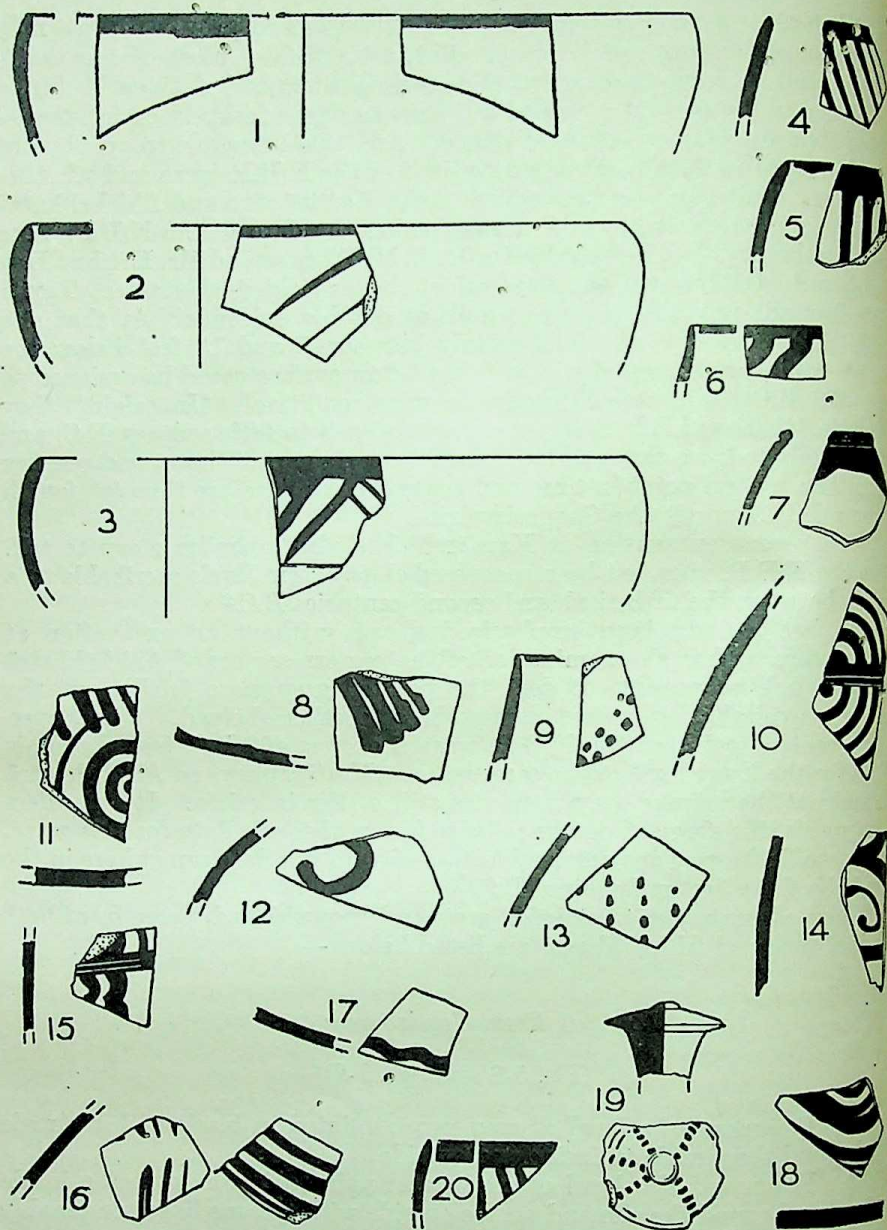
(a) *From Hastināpura*

(Pls. 5-6 and figs. 1-2)

1. Fragment of a bowl of grey ware; painted in black with a simple band round the rim, both inside and outside.
2. Fragment of a bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with oblique lines presumably running up to the rim-band.
3. Fragment of a dish or bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the outside with a band round the rim, and alternate groups of oblique lines meeting near the rim-band.
4. Fragment of a deep bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the outside with a group of oblique lines running up to the horizontal rim-band.
5. Fragment of a deep bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with vertical lines below the rim-band.

¹ *Ancient India*, no. 1 (Jan. 1946), pp. 55-58.

² Information from Mr. G. R. Sharma.

FIG. 1. Hastināpura : painted grey ware. $\frac{1}{2}$

3. Fragment of a deep bowl of grey ware with sharpened rim and presumably straight sides; painted in black on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with wavy lines below the horizontal rim-band.

7. Fragment of a vase of grey ware with slightly undercut rim; painted in black on the outside with an indeterminate design.

8. Base-fragment of a dish of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a group of parallel bands.

9. Fragment of a partially straight-sided bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with oblique rows of dots.

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THE PAINTED GREY WARE OF THE UPPER GANGETIC BASIN

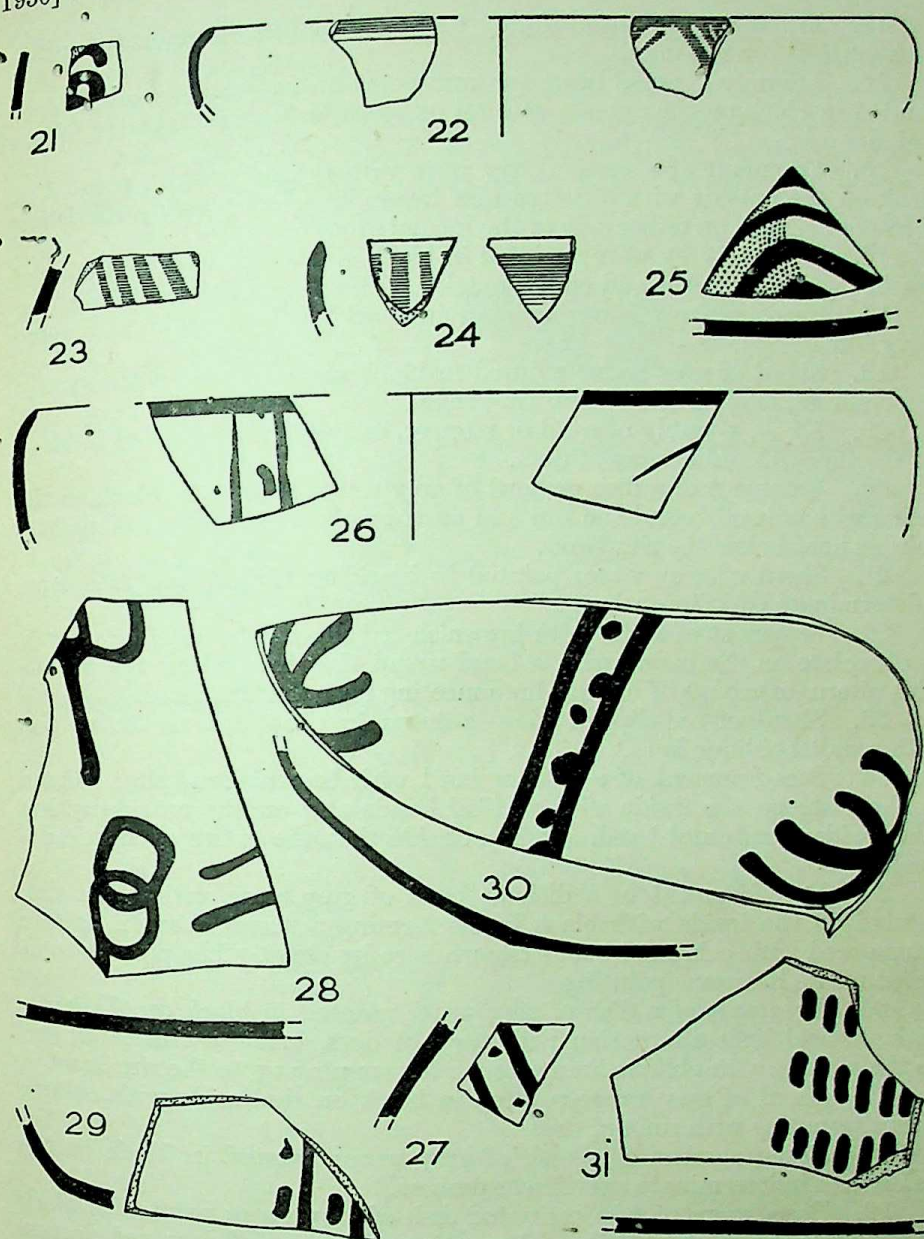


FIG. 2. Hastināpura : 21, 25-31, painted grey ware; 22-24, painted brownish-red ware. $\frac{1}{2}$

10. Fragment of a vase of grey ware with medial groove; painted in black on the outside with two sets of concentric semi-circles, one on either side of the medial groove.

11. Base-fragment of a vase of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a set of concentric circles, the outermost being cut by a group of roughly parallel lines.

12. Fragment of a vase of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with an indeterminate curvilinear design.

13. Fragment of a vase of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with vertical rows of dots.

14. Fragment, possibly of the mid-portion of a vase, of grey ware; painted in black on the outside with an indeterminate curvilinear or foliate design.

15. Fragment of a vase of grey ware with medial groove; painted in black on the outside with a design now incomplete but possibly consisting of rows of sigmas on either side of the medial groove.

16. Sherd of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with groups of roughly vertical strokes and on the outside with a set of oblique bands.

17. Sherd of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with some wavy line design.

18. Sherd of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a set of cursive lines, looking like concentric circles.

19. Knob, possibly of a lid or stopper, of grey ware; painted in black on the top with radial rows of dots.

20. Fragment of a dish or bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with a set of slightly oblique lines below the rim-band.

21. Sherd of grey ware; painted in black on the outside with some indeterminate curvilinear design.

22. Fragment of a dish with brownish red slip on the outside; painted in chocolate on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with alternate groups of oblique lines meeting near the rim-band.

23. Sherd of red-slipped ware; painted in chocolate on the outside with parallel oblique lines.

24. Rim-fragment of a dish or bowl with brownish-red slip; painted in chocolate on the inside with vertical bands and on the outside with a much wider horizontal band. It is probable that the entire outside had a wash.

25. Base-fragment of a dish or bowl of grey ware with black slip; painted on the inside with black bands forming a rough chevron pattern interspaced with ochre-red bands (shown here by dots). The piece is to be noted for its bichrome painting.

26. Fragment of a dish of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with vertical lines alternating with rows of dots, below a rim-band, and on the outside with oblique lines presumably running up to the rim-band.

27. Sherd of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with oblique lines alternating with rows of dots.

28. Base-fragment of a dish of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with indeterminate curvilinear designs.

29. Base-fragment of a carinated dish of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with vertical lines alternating with rows of dots and dashes. The design seems to be similar to no. 26, above.

30. Part of the base of a bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with (i) a row of dots within two parallel lines, presumably passing through the centre, and (ii) sets of intersecting couple of loops higher up the body.

31. Base-fragment of a dish of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with parallel rows of dots.

(b) *From Ahichchhatrā*

(Pls. 7-8 and fig. 3)

1. Partially straight-sided bowl with a groove near the base; painted in black on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with a

horizontal row of sigmas between two bands, one along the rim and another along the groove. The sigma pattern is of interest since it also occurs on the chalcolithic pottery of several Indus Valley sites in Sind and Gedrosia. Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind., no. 48 (Delhi, 1934), pl. XXV, 4 and 5; and A. Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia*, Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind., no. 43 (Calcutta, 1931), pl. I, Z.W. 1 and pl. II, B.R. 3.

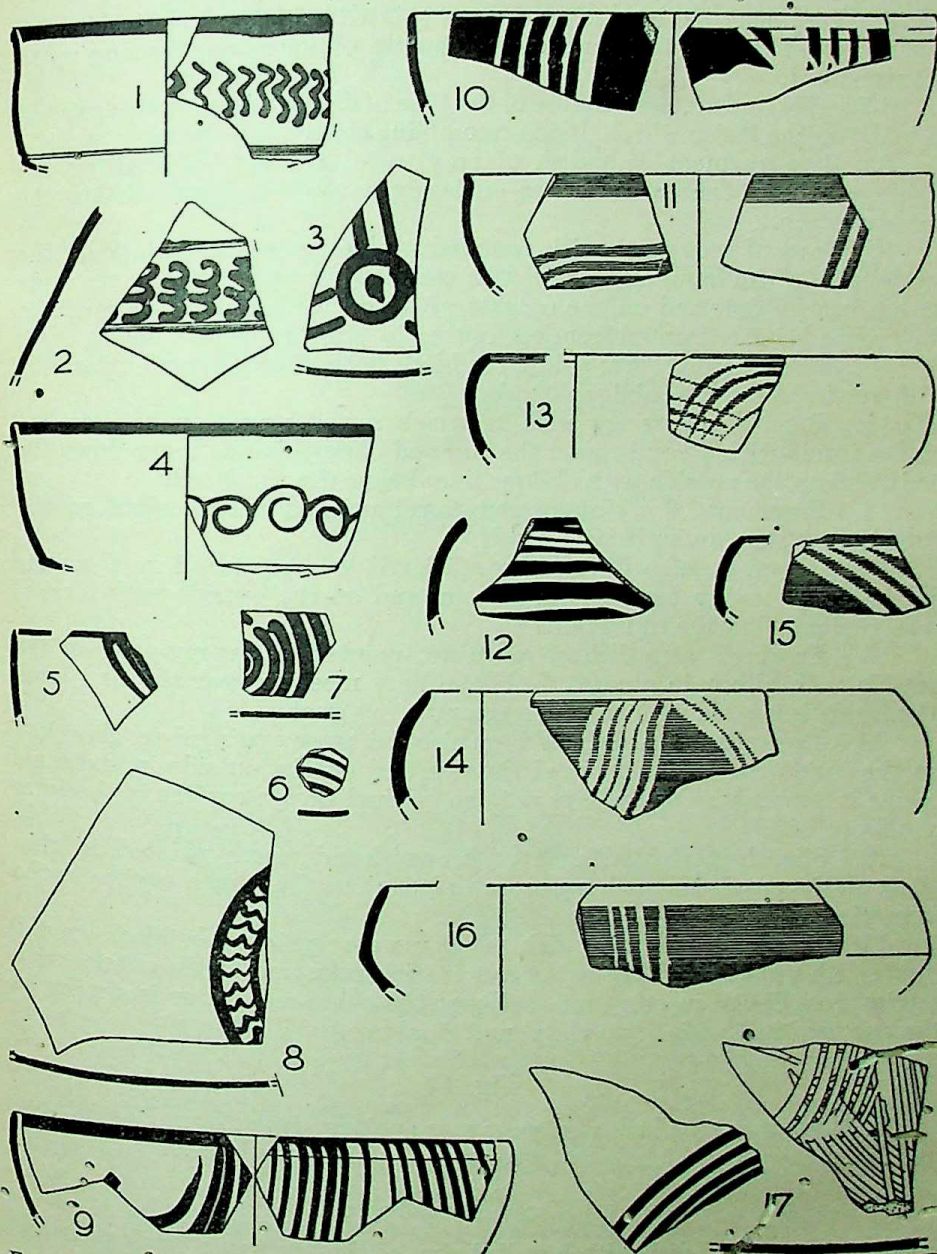


Fig. 3. Ahichchhatra: 1-11 and 17, painted grey ware; 12-16, painted brown-red ware.

2. Fragment of a vase of grey ware; painted in black on the outside with a horizontal row of sigmas (of three loops) between two bands, one each along the upper and lower grooves.

3. Fragment possibly of the base of a dish of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a circle and radial lines in twos running up to its circumference.

4. Bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a band along the rim and on the outside with a horizontal chain of short spirals, in addition to the rim-band.

5. Fragment of a bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with oblique lines running up to the rim-band.

6-7. Fragments, presumably of the base of dishes of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a design resembling concentric circles.

8. Base-fragment of a dish of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with two concentric circles enclosing a row of sigmas within the annular space.

9. Bowl of grey ware with rounded profile; painted in black on the inside with a rim-band and below it a set of what appear to be crescents with a central dot, and on the outside with vertical lines in groups of six, the groups being separated from each other by another vertical line.

10. Bowl of grey ware; painted in black both internally and externally with vertical as well as oblique bands.

11. Bowl of grey ware with brownish surface; painted in chocolate on the inside with a band round the rim and cursive bands lower down the body and on the outside with oblique lines below the rim-band.

12. Fragment of a dish of red ware; painted in chocolate on the outside with roughly horizontal bands.

13. Fragment of a dish of brownish-red ware; painted in chocolate on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with a criss-cross design below the rim-band.

14. Fragment of a dish of red ware; painted in creamy-grey on the outside with alternate groups of oblique lines meeting near the rim-band. The inside is treated with the same creamy-grey wash.

15. Fragment of a dish of brownish-red ware; painted in chocolate on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside in the same colour in such a way as to leave out the original brown surface in the form of oblique bands.

16. Slightly carinated dish of brownish-red ware; painted in thin black on the outside in such a way as to leave out the brown surface in the form of vertical bands.

17. Base-fragment of a dish of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with what looks like a set of concentric circles and on the outside with a criss-cross design in ochre-red. (Note: the ochre-red colour is similar to the one used in Hastināpura sherd no. 25, above.)

Fig. 4

In this figure are illustrated some more pottery-types from Hastināpura and Ajichchhatrā, which do not appear in the half-tone blocks.

(a) *From Hastināpura*

1. Large-sized dish with bevelled rim, of the 'northern black polished' ware.

Dish of thick grey ware with carinated waist.

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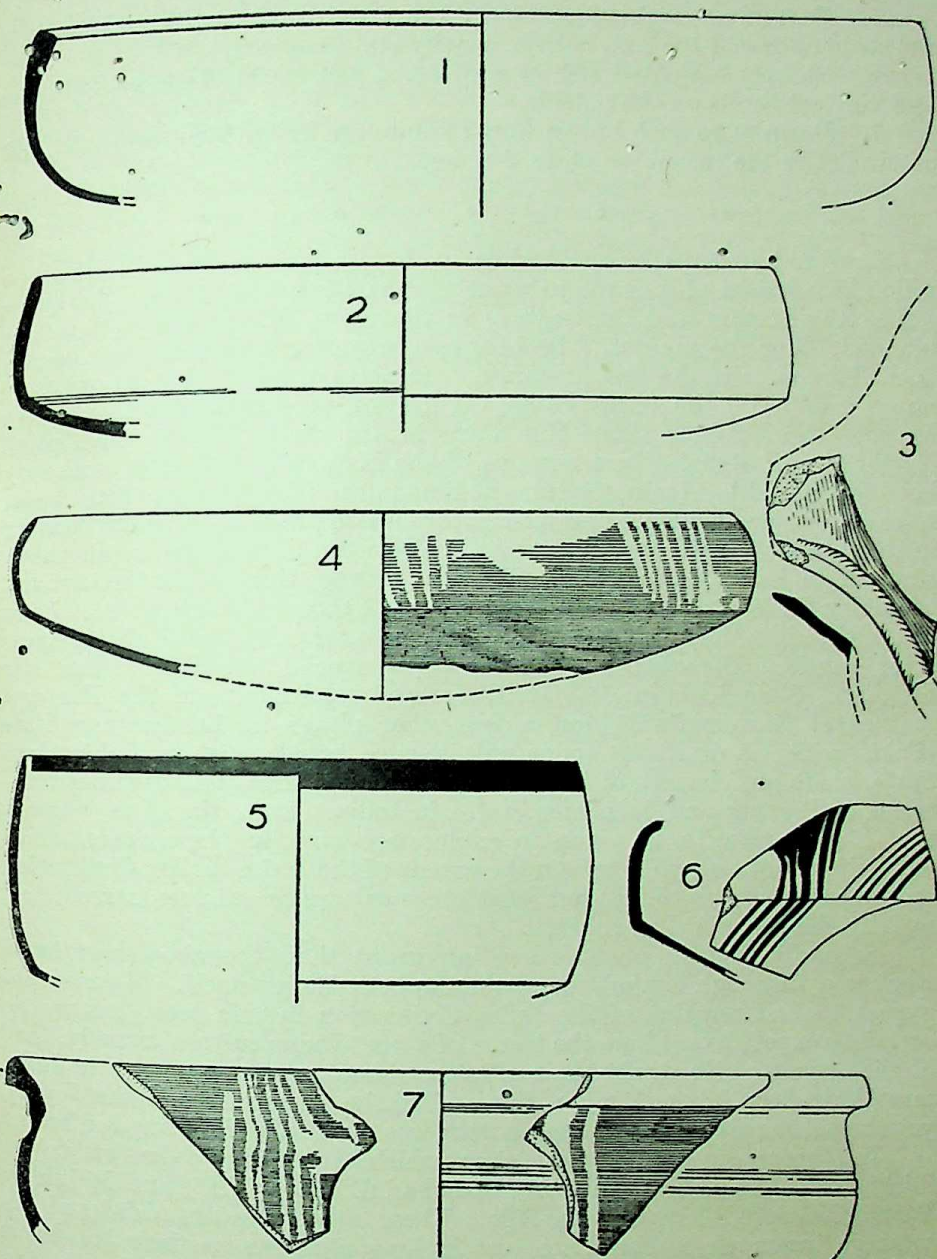


FIG. 4. Hastināpura: 1, 'northern black polished' ware; 2-3, grey ware. Ahichchhatrā: 4 and 7, painted brownish-red ware; 5-6, painted grey ware.

3. Fragment of a lipped bowl of grey ware. Similar bowl of grey ware has also been recovered from one of the early levels of Kausambi. (1948-excavations; information from Mr. G. R. Sharma.)

(b) From Ahichchhatrā

4. Dish of brownish-red ware with sagged base; painted in black on the outside in such a way as to leave out the original brown surface in the form of vertical bands.

5. Partially straight-sided bowl of grey ware; painted in black with a simple band round the rim, both internally and externally.
6. Sharply carinated dish of grey ware; painted in black with oblique and vertical bands on the outside.
7. Basin of reddish brown ware; painted in black both internally and externally in the technique of no. 4 above.

* * * * *

It would perhaps be worthwhile to discuss here in brief the lines on which archaeological research to 'open up' the Dark Age between the Indus Valley Civilization and the cultures of the early historical period can be planned. For the present, I believe, two sets of programmes can be embarked upon. In the first instance, it is necessary for us to know as to how far east did the Indus Valley Civilization penetrate into India. We have, in the foot-hills of the Himālayas in Ambala District of the Punjab (I) the site of Rupar where remains of the Harappā culture have already been recognized.¹ Again, the ruins at Rangpur in Limbdi State, Kathiawar, have also yielded evidence of settlements of a late phase of Indus Civilization in that area.² If we draw a straight line between these two points it passes through the heart of Rājasthān. The area between this line on the east and the Indus-Sutlej rivers on the west requires to be thoroughly examined. Even out of this, it is the northern part, encompassing the dry bed of the Ghaggar river (ancient Sarasvatī), which deserves special attention. The late Sir Aurel Stein had, in 1940-41, discovered settlements of the Harappā culture at Sandhanāwālā and a few other places in Bahāwalpur State (Pakistan).³ Now if the Indus culture-sites could exist in Bahāwalpur State, there are chances of their having extended into the adjoining territories of Bikaner and Jaisalmer States in India. It is, therefore, obvious that a high priority be given to exploration-work in these areas. This will help us not only to ascertain the extent of the Indus Valley Civilization on the east but also to find out what other culture or cultures immediately overlay the Indus Valley ruins.

Secondly, but in no way less important than the above-mentioned work is a thorough exploration of the Gangetic Valley itself. We may not expect to find remains of the Indus Civilization in this area, but we do certainly expect to get here the traces of a post-Indus culture, namely, that of the Aryans. No doubt the earliest settlements of the Aryans in India must have been in the Punjab (the land of the seven rivers of the *Vedas*), yet the subsequent scene of their action was decidedly the Gangetic basin.

In this basin are several sites which are already known to be fairly ancient, e.g. Kauśāmbi in Allahabad District, U.P., and Rājgir in Patna District, Bihar, and the like. These sites have an additional advantage inasmuch as there are certain known points in their top-levels which can provide a good datum-line. Thus, it should not be far too difficult to work out a rough, if not accurate, culture-sequence of the early levels of these sites.

Then there is another set of sites, namely, Rājpur, District Bijnor; Fatehgarh, District Farrukhābād; Bithūr, District Kānpur; Bisauli, District Badaun—all in Uttar Pradesh; Gangeria, District Bālāghāt, C.P.; Pālāmau, Ranchi, Hazāribāgh and Mānbhūm Districts of Bihar, etc. etc.—

¹ M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappā* (Delhi, 1940), I, pp. 476-77.

² M. S. Vats, in *Annual Report Arch. Surv. India*, 1934-35, pp. 34-38, pls. XII-XV.

³ *Geographical Journal*, XCIX, No. 4 (1942), pp. 173-82.

which have yielded 'antennae' swords, harpoons, chisels, axes and 'anthromorphic' figures, etc. of copper. From the very fact that even swords and harpoons were made of copper and not of iron, which certainly would have been a more suitable material, it looks rather likely, though not proved, that these implements were manufactured in a pre-iron period. It has been suggested that they were associated with a phase of the Aryan migration from the Punjab to the Gangetic plains.¹ If that is so, then we have in these sites a great amount of archaeological wealth awaiting the spade; and surely, it should not be allowed to wait too long.

Again, we are very often asked whether the battle of the Mahābhārata or, for that matter the very existence of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas is a mere myth or are there any grains of truth about it. As matters stand at present, we have no definite answer to the question from a purely archaeological point of view.² And the reason obviously is—lack of exploration in the areas which are likely to yield an answer, be it negative or positive.

According to the *Mahābhārata*, Hastināpura was the capital of the Kauravas. Then, in the course of the negotiations that preceded the great battle, the Pāṇḍavas are said to have informed the Kauravas that if they (the Pāṇḍavas) were given five villages they would feel satisfied and no war would be fought. The names of these villages, however, vary from text to text. According to one they are Avisthala, Vṛkasthala, Mākandī, Vāraṇāvata, and one more (not named),³ while according to another they are Kuśasthala, Vṛkasthala, Āsandi, Vāraṇāvata, and an unnamed one.⁴ In the *Veṇīsamhāra* they are stated to be Indraprastha, Vṛkaprastha, Jayanta, Vāraṇāvata and one more (unnamed).⁵ When the Kauravas did not agree even to this request, the battle was fought at Kurukshetra.

Of the places mentioned above, scholars have identified (i) Hastināpura, (ii) Indraprastha, (iii) Vṛkaprastha, (iv) Vāraṇāvata and (v) Kurukshetra respectively with (i) Hastināpura (location already given above), (ii) Indrapat, the site of Purāṇā Qila in Delhi, (iii) Bāghpat, about 20 miles north of Delhi on the eastern bank of the Jamuna, (iv) Barnāwā, about 19 miles north-west of Meerut in U.P., and (v) Kurukshetra, a railway station on the Delhi-Ambala line of the E.P. Railway.⁶ According to the local tradition, however, the five villages requested for by the Pāṇḍavas are identified with (i) Indrapat, (ii) Bāghpat, (iii) Tilpat, about 16 miles south of Delhi, a little to the east of the Delhi-Mathura road, (iv) Sonapat, and (v) Panipat, railway stations again on the Delhi-Ambala line.⁷

¹ In addition to the references already appearing in foot-note 4, p. 89, please see R. Heine Geldern, 'New Light on the Aryan Migration to India', *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology*, V (1937), pp. 7-16; and the same author's 'Archaeological Traces of the Vedic Aryans', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, IV, No. 2 (1936).

² The occurrence of the painted grey ware at Hastināpura does, no doubt, lend a great antiquity to the site, but since the date of the ware itself has not been thoroughly worked out, it would perhaps be worthwhile to wait for more evidence (both from Hastināpura and elsewhere) before an identification of the present mound with the town mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* can be attempted.

³ T. R. Krishnacharya and T. R. Vyasacharya, *Srīmanmahābhārata* (mainly based on South Indian Texts) (Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1907), Udyogaparva, Chap. 31, Verse 19.

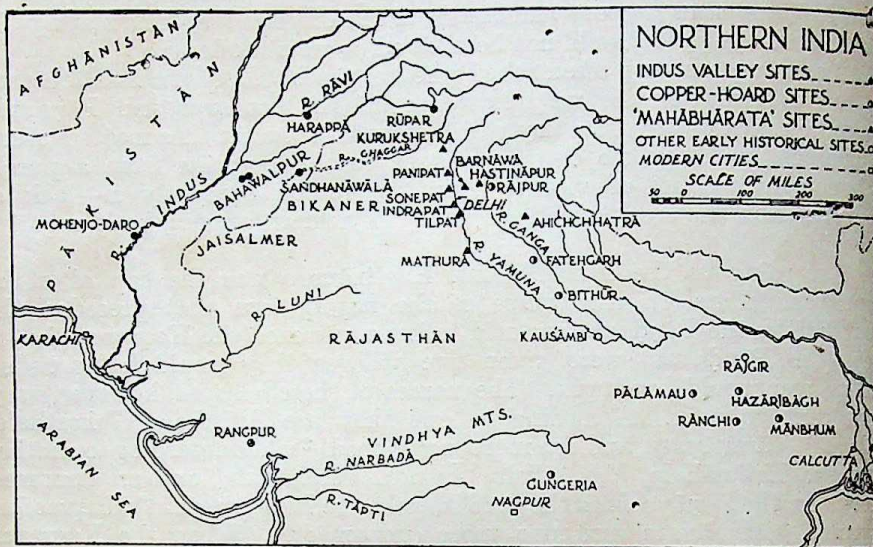
⁴ V. S. Sukhtānkar, *The Mahābhārata*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona, 1937), Udyogaparva, Chap. 31, Verse 19.

⁵ K. N. Dravida, *Veṇīsamhāra* (Oriental Book Supplying Agency, Poona, Second Edition, 1922), p. 7.

⁶ Cf. Nūndo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* (Luzac & Co., London, Second Edition, 1927), pp. 73, 77-78, 42, 25 and 110.

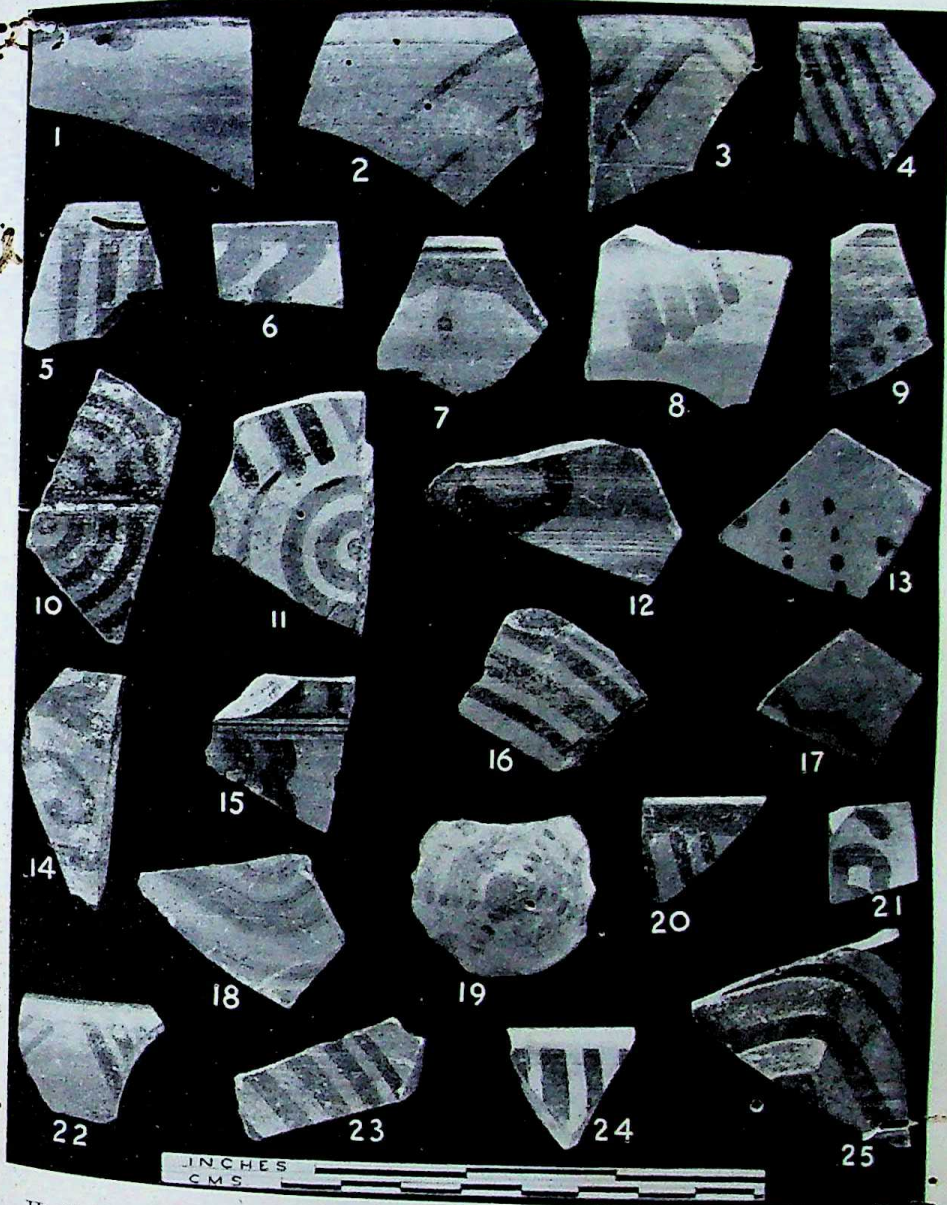
⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 148, under the sub-head 'Pāṇiprastha'.

It is not at all suggested here that these places should be taken to be the same as mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* just because they happen to bear those very names, but it is certainly desirable that an exploration of these sites and the surrounding areas should be carried out, since at most of these places there are mounds which may perhaps turn out to be fairly ancient.

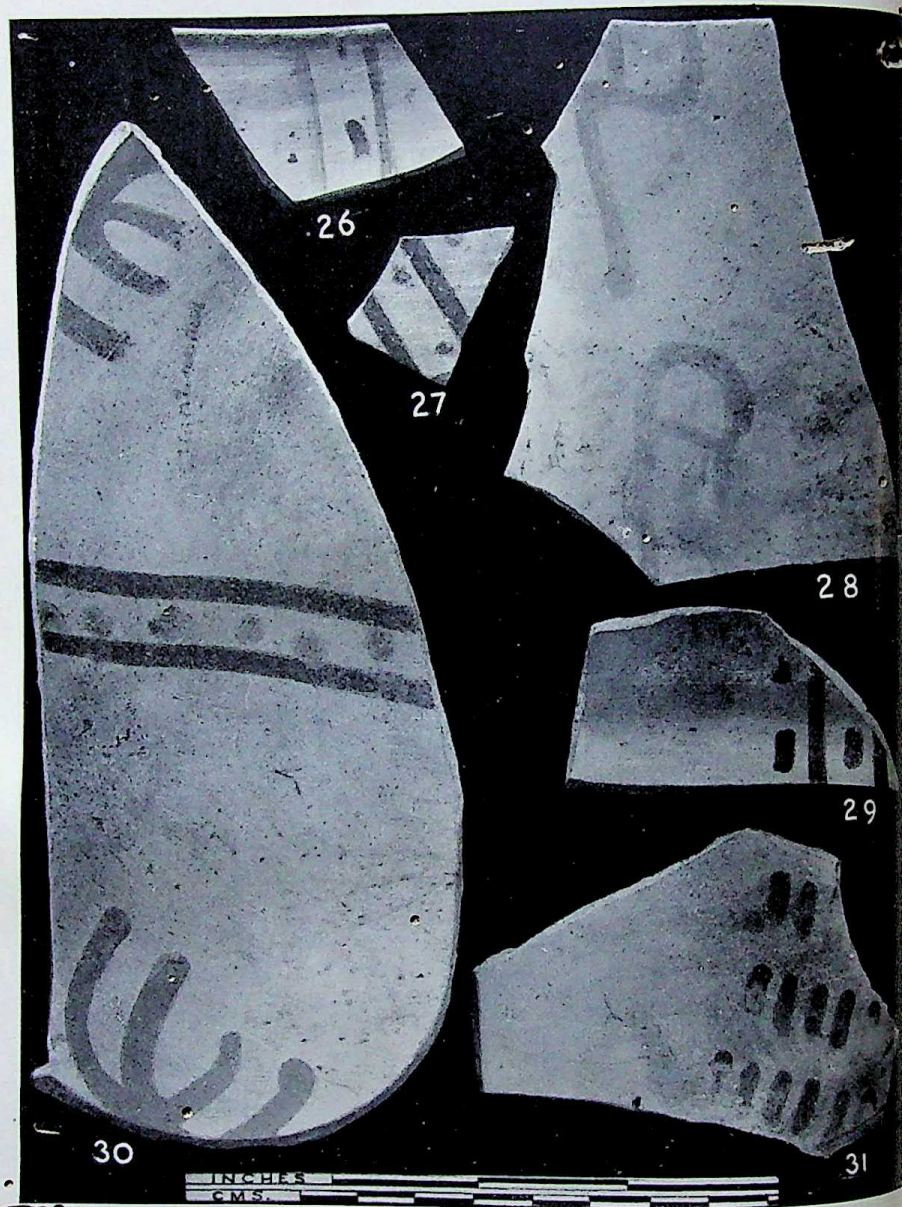


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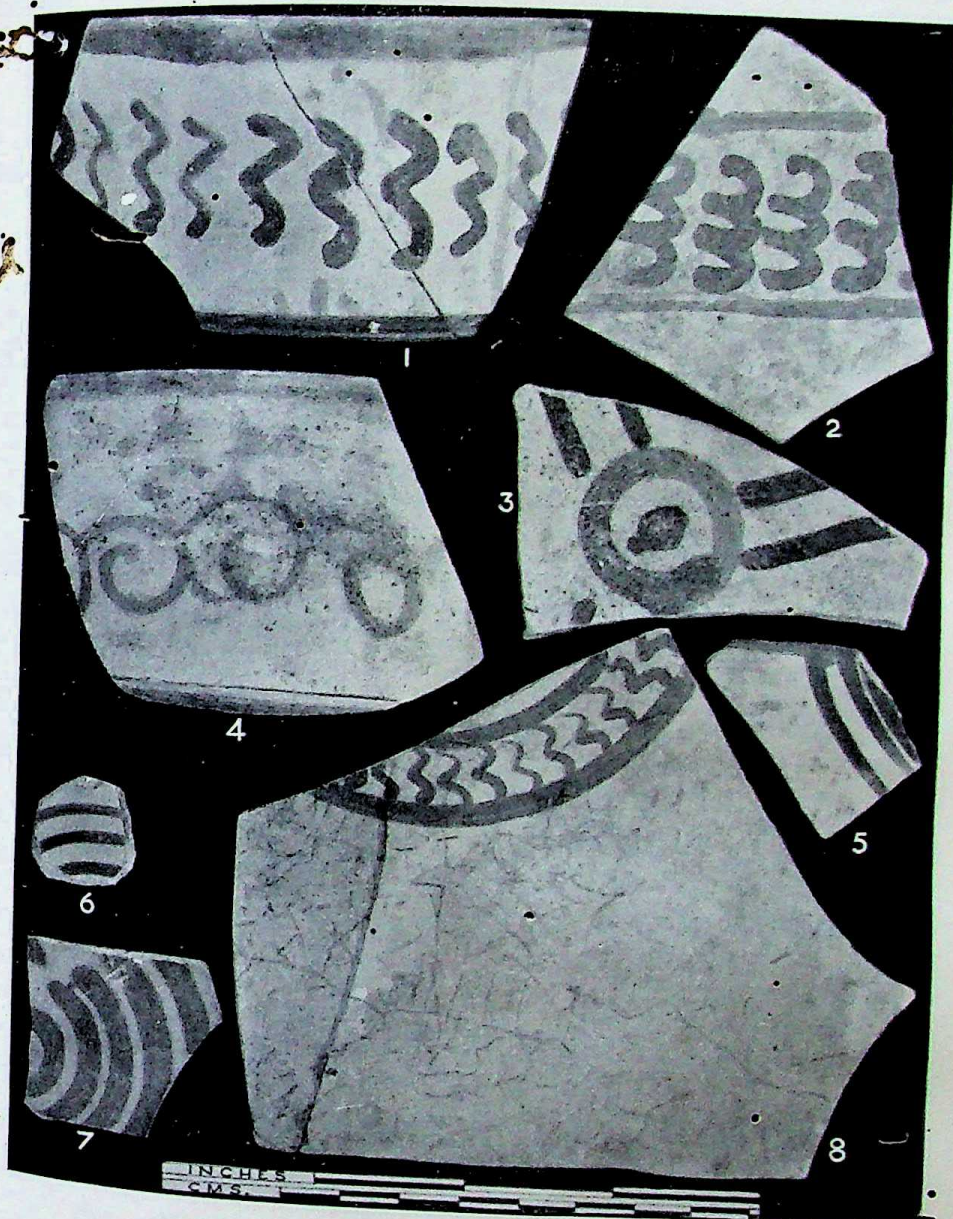
While this article was in the proof-stage, the writer carried out some trial excavations at Tilpat and there also discovered the painted grey ware under discussion. It was further noted that this ware well-preceded the northern black polished ware, though there was a subsequent overlap between the two. As to the origin of the painted grey ware, it is very difficult to say anything final since unknown feet of occupational deposits still remain to be explored below the sub-soil water which obviously has risen up since the first occupation at Tilpat. However, it was clear that it was in use at Tilpat as early as 6th-5th centuries B.C. (cf. *The Statesman*, Delhi Edition, July 5, 6 and 9, 1950).



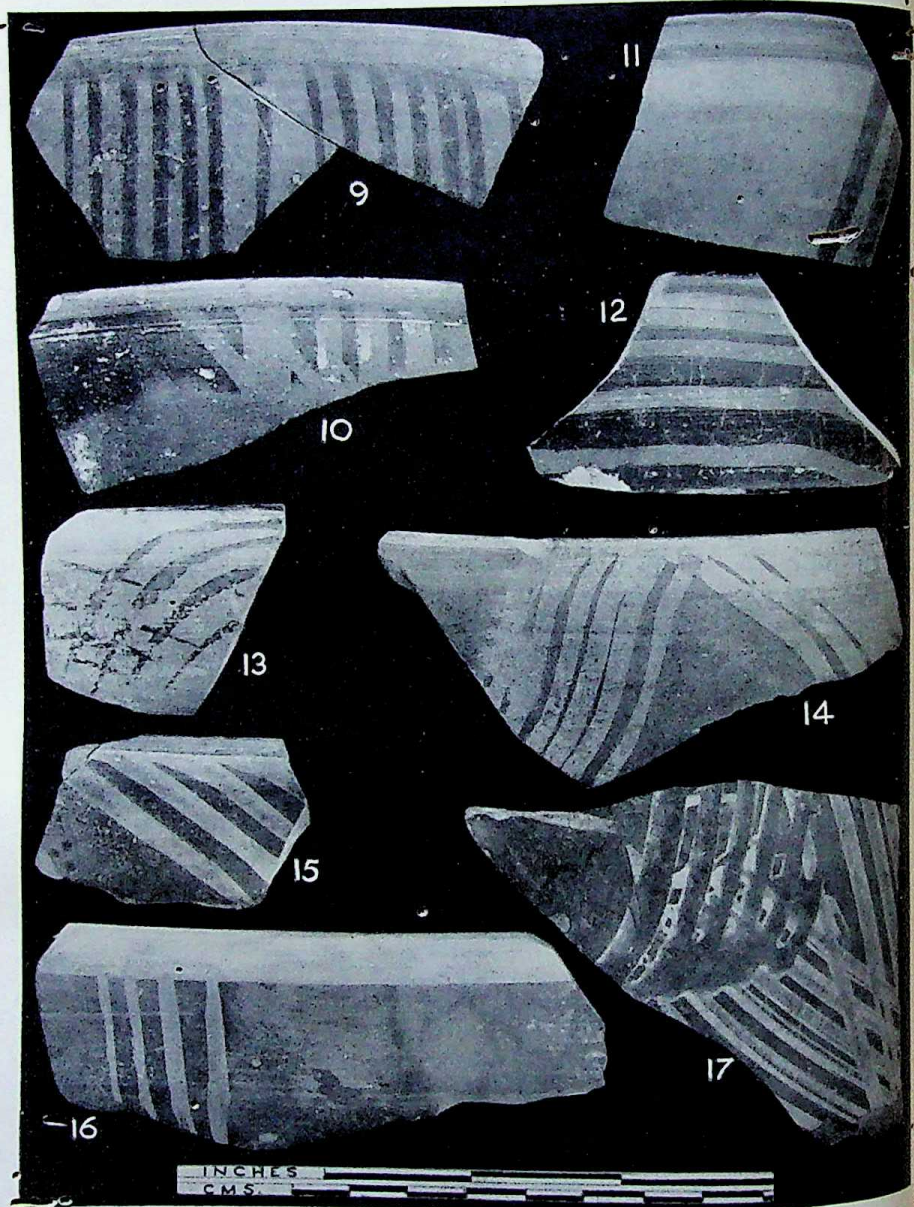
Hastināpura: 1-21 and 25, painted grey ware; 22-24, painted brownish-red ware.



Hastināpura: painted grey ware.



Ahichchhatrā: painted grey ware.



Ahichchhatra: 9-11 and 17, painted grey ware; 12-16, painted brownish-red ware.

VEDIC ELEMENTS IN NEO-BRAHMANISM

By PRIYATOSH BANERJEE, *Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

(Communicated by S. K. Saraswati.)

(Received March 21, 1950.)

Neo-Brahmanism or Hinduism as it is ordinarily called is a multiform structure consisting of polygenous religious ideas. It is a synthesis or a combination of the Vedic and non-Vedic, hieratic and popular, native and foreign. The orthodox and popular elements are so intimately mixed up that we can only separate them 'by an act of abstraction'. The process of synthesis of which Neo-Brahmanism is the result began from a very early time, but it was intensified perhaps from c. 500 B.C. when the dissenting religions like Jainism and Buddhism were spreading fast on Indian soil. The *Brāhmaṇas* showed a great alertness in adjusting their religion to existing circumstances. 'Notwithstanding the zeal' with which they threw themselves into popular theosophy and devotional systems of worship, they were careful enough to preserve the old traditions and hieratic elements. It is true that as the time went, the sectarian and theistic forms of worship gained a wider popularity but the orthodox traditions and ceremonies continued (and in fact are still continuing) in the framework of expanded Brahmanism or Neo-Brahmanism, however, limited their influence might have been. If the Epics and the *Purāṇas* were devoted mainly to popularizing the worship of personal gods and deities, the *Dharmasūtras* and *Sāstras* were written to preserve the popularity of the Vedic practices. An attempt has been made in this paper to show from relevant archaeological data the continuity of hieratic elements in the framework of Neo-Brahmanism (the chief characteristics of which are however the worship of personal gods like Vishṇu-Krishṇa and Śiva) in the period between 200 B.C.-300 A.D.

Among the patrons of old Brahmanic traditions in the period under review, the name of Pusyamitra Śuṅga deserves a special mention as he is one of the early rulers known to have performed a Vedic sacrifice namely the *Aśvamedha* during the historical times. Pushyamitra seems to have performed this sacrifice after his victorious wars with the Greeks, which is referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*¹ of Kālidāsa. Patañjali perhaps officiated as a priest in the sacrifice as would appear from the passage in the *Mahābhāshya*, '*iha Pushyamitraṃ Yājñāmaḥ*'.² The Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva informs us that Pushyamitra performed not only one but two horse-sacrifices.³ According to Jayaswal there is a reference to Pushyamitra's horse-sacrifice in the *Harivaṃśa*.⁴ In Book III, Chapter II of this text there is a significant dialogue between Janamejaya and Vyāsa on the future of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. On Janamejaya's enquiry Vyāsa told him that after his *Aśvamedha* the Kshatriyas would no longer perform it. Being distressed on hearing it Janamejaya anxiously enquired if there was any hope of its being performed in future by anybody else. In reply,

¹ See Act V.

² J.B.O.R.S., Vol. X, pp. 202-208; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 57.

³ J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIV, p. 24.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, 1872, p. 300.

Vyāsa observed: A certain Brahmin *Senānī* (commander-in-chief) of the *Kāśyapa* family will suddenly rise into power and perform the horse-sacrifice in Kali Age (*Audbhijjo bhavitā kaśchit Senānīh Kāśyapodvijah/śīsvamedhah Kali yuge punah pratyāharishyati* [1]).

Jayaswal and R. P. Chanda think that the *Audbhijja* (upstart *Kāśyapadvija* (*Kāśyapa* gotra Brahmin) *Senānī* (commander-in-chief) refers to none other than Pushyamitra. Pushyamitra was no doubt an upstart as he could not claim any royal descent or heritage. Regarding the title *Senānī*, we know that he is represented as such in the *Purāṇas*, in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* and in the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva. The difficulty, however, lies with the *gotra* name (*Kāśyapa*). Pushyamitra who was a *Śuṅga* should have been described as a *Bhāradvāja* and not as a *Kāśyapa*. Jayaswal thinks that he is wrongly represented as of *Kāśyapa* gotra in the *Harivaṃśa*. His original *gotra* seems to have been forgotten when the tradition of his horse-sacrifice was recorded therein.²

Jayaswal and many other scholars consider the horse-sacrifice of Pushyamitra as marking the revival of Brahmanism, which fell into disuse, in their opinion, in the time of the Mauryas, specially in the reign of Aśoka who put a stop to the animal sacrifices. This view has no foundation on facts. It is true that Brahmanism did not find much royal support in the Mauryan age, as its rulers were followers of dissenting faiths, but that does not mean that Brahmanism was out of vogue in Maurya times. Again, it is difficult to prove that Aśoka's prohibition of animal sacrifices was based upon any anti-Brahmanical motive. Even in orthodox community there arose, long before Aśoka, rational thinkers who decried the efficacy of sacrifices and recorded strict injunction against animal slaughter. With the growth of Upanishadic thought the idea of efficacy of elaborate ritualism was discarded and emphasis began to be laid on rational contemplation. The *Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad* prescribes that instead of a horse-sacrifice the visible universe is to be conceived as a horse and meditated upon as such.³ 'Kṛishṇa, son of Devakī, was taught by his teacher Ghora Āngirasa that sacrifice may be performed without objective means; that generosity, kindness and other moral traits are the real signs of sacrifice....'⁴ In the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*⁵ it is laid down that no animal should be sacrificed in the *Kṛita* age. There are references also in the *Rāmāyaṇa* regarding the observance of strict non-violence in certain orthodox *āśramas*. We read in *Aranyakāṇḍa* that when Rāma proceeded from the *āśrama* of Śarabhaṅga to that of Sutikṣhṇa and expressed his desire to stay with the latter, the latter (i.e. Sutikṣhṇa) described his *āśrama* as 'resorted to by the *Rishi Saṅgha*, who did not allow any animal to be slain there'. At this Rāma said that his habit of hunting would undoubtedly cause pain to Sutikṣhṇa and so he could not stay there for long.⁶ Taking vegetarian diet for a night Rāma proceeded next morning to other *āśramas* of the *Dāṇḍaka Rishis*.

From the above it is clear that the prohibition of animal sacrifices or animal slaughter as introduced by Aśoka was in no way a novel measure. Hence it is not safe to suggest that Brahmanism fell into disuse in Mauryan times for Aśoka stopped animal sacrifices. The history of Brahmanism,

¹ *Harivaṃśa*, Book III, Chapter II, v. 40; *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 24.

² *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 25.

³ *Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad*, 1.1.

⁴ Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, p. 465.

⁵ XII, 340, 82.

⁶ *Rāmāyaṇa*, Book III, 7, 17-22, *Educational Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, by Dr. S. C. Sankar, pp. 137-8.

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though full of additions and omissions, is one of continuity. That Brahmanism including its hieratic and orthodox aspect was in vogue even during the reign of the Mauryas is evident from different sources. The *Arthashastra* of Kautilya who is considered by many scholars to have been a contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya refers to the Brahmanical deities and practices. The edicts of Aśoka show that there was an orthodox Brahmanical community in his time and he paid reverence to them as he did to the Buddhists, Nirgranthas, and Ājīvikas. The *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali throws significant light on the uninterrupted prevalence of Brahmanical rites on a very large scale in the society. Mention has been made by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāshya* of various sacrifices including *Rājasūya* and *Vājaapeya*.¹ With regard to the *Pañchamahāyajñas* he states that they must be performed by every householder.² That the observance of sacrificial rites was an usual and traditional affair on the part of the Brāhmaṇas in Patañjali's society is evident from such instances in the *Mahābhāshya*, as *Gārgyo yajate*, *Vātsyo yajate*, *Dākṣheḥ pitā yajate*, so on and so forth. Patañjali refers to animal sacrifices in connection with the worship of Rudra³ (*Paśunā Rudraṃ yajate*). He explains *yūpa* as a wooden post for binding sacrificial animals and says that it should be made of *Bilva* or *Khadira*.⁴ He mentions both sacrificial lands and priests specially competent for conducting Vedic sacrifices.⁵ There is no doubt that he himself was a distinguished Brāhmaṇa and Vedic scholar. He refers also to the practice of drinking *Soma*⁶ which formed an important part of Vedic sacrifices.

All this would show that there were in Patañjali's time many Brahmin orthodox families and Vedic scholars, Patañjali himself being one of them, and the orthodox rituals and practices were largely observed in the society. This presupposes the existence of orthodox practices in preceding generation also. If orthodox Brahmanism fell into disuse in Mauryan times there would have been no Patañjali in Śuṅga period. All that the horse-sacrifice of Pushyamitra shows is that he was a champion or patron of Brahmanism and it will be erroneous to describe him as a reviver of Brahmanism when there is no ground to show that Brahmanism was non-existent in any preceding generation.

Like the Śuṅgas, their successors also, the Kāṇvas, and others observed orthodox rites and practices as prevailing in their time. Pārāśariputra Sarvatāta, a king of the Kāṇva family as D. R. Bhandarkar points out, performed a horse-sacrifice, though he is known also to have built a stone enclosure round the hall of worship of Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa.⁷

Among the followers of orthodox Brahmanical rites mention may be made here of one Vishnudeva whose coins (first century B.C.) have been found at Kanauj.⁸ On the reverse of one of his silver coins there appears a horse before a sacrificial post or *yūpa* from which it can be reasonably inferred that he claimed to his credit the glory of having performed a horse-sacrifice.⁹ Not much is known about him. He can be placed, however, in

¹ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, pp. 268ff., 475ff. Keilhorn, *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāshya*, Vol. II, p. 361.

² *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 214.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 357.

⁶ Keilhorn, *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāshya*, Vol. II, p. 248, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, pp. 268ff., pp. 475ff.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 203-205, *ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 27.

⁸ Allan, *Cat. of Indian Coins (Ancient India)*, p. 147.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xciv, Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 97.

the first century B.C. on the basis of the palaeography of his coin-legends. Before we proceed, it may be stated that one of the obverse types of early Yaudheya coins (first century B.C.–first century A.D.) is a bull before a *yūpa*.² This device can be explained as associated with the *Sūlagava* sacrifice,³ i.e. the offering of a bull to Rudra, as mentioned in the *Grihya-sūtras*. From this it is clear that some of the early Yaudheyas were performers of Brahmanical rites.

Next we may come to the Bhāraśivas and the Vākātakas, who though personally devoted to Saivism, took keen interest in orthodox Brahmanical rites. The former who flourished at about third century A.D. are credited in the Vākātaka inscriptions with having performed ten *Āśvamedhas* and are said to have obtained sovereignty through the satisfaction of lord Śiva as they carried a *Śiva-Liṅga* on their shoulders.⁴ The Vākātakas, we know, were staunch patrons of orthodox rites. King Pravarasena I who flourished in the latter part of the third century A.D. celebrated four *Āśvamedhas* and other Vedic sacrifices such as *Agnishtoma*, *Āptoryāma*, *Ukthya*, *Shoḍaśin*, *Atirātra*, *Vājapeya*, *Jyotishtoma*, and *Brihaspatisava*.⁵ The personal faith of the Vākātakas seems to have been Śaivism as it is the case with the Bhāraśivas. According to Jayaswal they (i.e. the Vākātakas) had Mahābhairava as the royal deity up to the time of Rudrasena I.⁶

During the period under review orthodox Brahmanical rites and practices were widely prevalent in southern India also. The Sātavāhanas and their successors were all followers and patrons of Brahmanism like their northern contemporaries. In the Nasik inscription of Vāsishthīputra Puṣāmāvi,⁷ Gautamīputra (Sātakarṇi), a celebrated Sātavāhana ruler is described as a great warrior, equal in prowess to Rāma (Balarāma), Keśava and Arjuna, etc. and also as *Ēka bamhaṇa*⁸ ('a unique *Brāhmaṇa*') who stopped the intermixture of the four *Varṇas* and strictly observed Sāstric rules in his ways of life. He was an 'abode of traditional lore' (*āgamānāṁ-nīlaya*) and he 'properly devised his time and place for the pursuit of the triple object (of human activity)'⁹ (*suviḥbhakta trivarga deśakāla*). This will show that Gautamīputra was a zealous Brahmanical ruler observing Sāstric rules. The influence of Vedic *Karmakāṇḍa* in early Sātavāhana period is abundantly proved by the Nānāghāt inscription¹⁰ of Queen Nāganikā (first century B.C.), which refers to the performance in the Sātavāhana court of various sacrifices with lavish gifts such as *Agnyādheya*, *Anārambhaṇīya*, *Bhagāla daśarātra*, *Gargātirātra*, *Gavāmayana*, *Āptoryāma*, *Āngirasāmāyana*, *Śatātirātra*, *Saptadaśātirātra*, *Rājāsūya*, *Āśvamedha* (two *Āśvamedhas*) and *Āngirasātirātra*,¹¹ etc.

Next to the Sātavāhanas the other Brahmanical rulers of Southern India during the period under review were Ikshvāku prince Vāsishthīputra Śrī Śāntamūla, the Pallavas and Kadambas. In Prākṛit inscriptions discovered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (belonging to the Palnad Taluk of the Guntur

¹ Smith does not seem to be correct in considering the scripts on Vishṇudeva's coins as early as those of Aśoka's time.

² Allan, *Cat. of Indian Coins (Ancient India)*, pp. xciii–xciv.

³ J. N. Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. 1, pp. 121–22.

⁴ Fleet, *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 236ff., No. 55.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Jayaswal, *History of India (150–350 A.D.)*, p. 98.

⁷ Bühler, *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 108ff., Senart, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 60ff., No. 2.

⁸ For Bhandarkar's interpretation of the term *Ēkabamhaṇa*, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII, pp. 32–36.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 61ff.

¹⁰ Bühler, *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. V, pp. 60ff., Lüders, list No. 1112.

¹¹ Dr. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, pp. 189–90.

district of the Madras Presidency), Śrī Śāntamūla is described as a performer of the Vedic sacrifices such as *Agnihotra*, *Agnishtoma*, *Vājapeya*, and *Āsvamedha*.¹ Regarding the patronage of Brahmanism by the Pallavas we know that Śivaskandavarman, one of the early rulers of his line,² belonging to first part of the fourth century A.D. celebrated the *Agnishtoma*, *Vājapeya*, and *Āsvamedha* sacrifices as we read in his inscriptions. The allegiance of the Pallavas to ancient Brahmanical rites is evident also from one of their official charters which describe them as *yathāvadhārīta-ṅneka-āsvamedhā-nām Pallavānām*.³ As to the Kadambas it may be noted that they were a Brahmin family and their first ruler was Mayūraśarman. The Tālagunda inscription of the time of Śāntivarman informs us that the Kadambas kindled the sacred fire, performed manifold Vedic rites and drank *Soma* according to the prescribed rules, and Mayūraśarman himself was adorned with Vedic knowledge, right disposition, and purity.⁴ All this clearly testifies to the fact that the Kadambas were ardent followers and supporters of sacrificial Brahmanism.

The increasing popularity of the orthodox rites and practices during the period under review is further attested to by the discovery of the Brahmanical finds in Besnagar, and of several inscribed *yūpas* in Mathurā, Kuśāmbī and Rajputana regions. While excavating a small mound in the close vicinity of the pathway leading from Udayagiri to Khambābā at Besnagar, Dr. Bhandarkar exposed two brick structures⁵ which in his opinion resemble the sacrificial *Kuṇḍas* of the *Brāhmaṇas*. 'The resemblance,' observes Dr. Bhandarkar, 'is observable not only in respect of the sloping sides but also in respect of the offsets which distinguish them. These offsets are a peculiar feature of *Kuṇḍas*, and are technically called *Mekhalā*.'⁶ These structures, it may, therefore, be well presumed, represent the old sacrificial *Kuṇḍas* or pits.

Besides the above two, one more pit was found almost at the same level and according to Dr. Bhandarkar it represents a *Yonikuṇḍa*.⁷ At about the same level in which the *kuṇḍas* were exposed a silver coin of *Mahākshatrapa* Īśvaradatta (early part of third century A.D.) and some *Nāga* coins of which one belongs to Bhīma Nāga, and three to Gaṇapati Nāga were found. From these considerations the *Kuṇḍas* may be dated approximately in the early part of the fourth century A.D. or the middle of the third century A.D.⁸

At about the same level of the *Kuṇḍas* Dr. Bhandarkar discovered also walls of two structures which are, according to him, remnants of a sacrificial hall to entertain guests and visitors at the sacrifices. Near the hall he found a seal recording the performance of a sacrifice⁹ by one Timitra with *hotā*, *potā* and *mantra* sajana(?), i.e. ... hymnkinmen.

The aforesaid facts would show that Besnagar was an important stronghold of Vedic Brahmanism during the period under review. We may now discuss certain inscribed *yūpas* which, as noted above, were found mostly in Rajputana, Mathurā and Kuśāmbī.

Yūpas are sacrificial stakes to tie and immolate animals on the occasion of various Vedic sacrifices. The sacrifice of animals is a prominent feature of the Vedic religion and has been alluded to in Vedic texts very frequently.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 19ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 5ff., D. C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Śātaśāhanas*, p. 161.

³ *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 186.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 27f., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 31ff. Mayūraśarman seems to have flourished in the middle of the fourth century A.D.

⁵ *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1914-15, p. 72.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 75ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

'He who offers living victims will reside high in heaven'.¹ 'The sacrificial fires long for the sacrificer's flesh, he offers to them an animal to redeem himself'.² 'By an animal sacrifice the sacrificer confers upon himself immortal life'.³ The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* regards *yūpa* as the 'crest-lock of the sacrifice personified'⁴ and contains an elaborate description about its preparation and the ceremonies connected with it. The animal sacrifice is offered to Agni and Soma, etc. but the *yūpa* is said to belong to Vishnu.⁵ This is rather strange in view of the fact that no animal is sacrificed to Vishnu.⁶

The *yūpa*, according to sacred texts is to be made of wood. There is a well-known grammatical example referring to this tradition, viz. *yūpāya dāru*. It is to be noted, however, that only a few selected kinds of wood should be used in preparing the *yūpas*. According to *Āpastamba* the sacrificial post is to be made of *Palāśa*, *Khadira*, *Bilva* or *Rayhitaka* trees according as one desires various results, but in *Soma* sacrifices preference is given to *Khadira*. According to *Patañjali*, a *yūpa* should be made of either *Bilva* or *Khadira*.⁸ In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, we have reference to some other woods also being used in making *yūpas*. In connection with the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice of Daśaratha 21 *yūpas* were erected, of which six were of *Bilva*, six of *Khadira*, six of *Palāśa*, one of *Śleśhmātaka*, and two of *Devadāru*.⁹

About the size of the *yūpas* the texts vary and they prescribe different sizes for different purposes. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says: 'When he who is about to perform an animal sacrifice, makes a stake one cubit long, he thereby gains this world, and when he makes one two cubits long, he thereby gains the air world and when he makes one three cubits long he thereby gains the heaven; and when he makes one four cubits long he thereby gains the regions'.¹⁰ According to *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* a *yūpa* may be made from 5 to 15 cubits in length, but in the *Vājapeya* sacrifice it should be 17 cubits in length (*Saptadaśa Vājapeye*) and in the *Aśvamedha* it would be 21 cubits (*Ekaviṃśatiraśvamedhe*).¹¹ Regarding the shape of the *yūpa* the texts are more or less unanimous. It is laid down that the *yūpa* should be made eight-cornered like the thunderbolt of Indra, because a *yūpa* is a veritable thunderbolt.¹² The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says: 'It (the *yūpa*) is to be eight-cornered for eight syllables has the *Gāyatrī*, and the *Gāyatrī* is the forepart of the sacrifice, therefore it is eight-cornered'.¹³ Regarding the other features it should be noted that the sacrificial stake should be 'bent at the top and bent inwards in the middle'.¹⁴ It must have a head piece (*chashāla*) or top-ring at about eight inches from the top. The top-ring (*chashāla*) also should be octagonal¹⁵ in shape. '*Yūpa* resembles in its external appearance a *Brahmachārin*, so it has a girdle at the centre, and a triple *upavīta* across it'.¹⁶ It (the girdle rope) is perhaps 'the same as the

¹ *Vedic Hymns*, S.B.E., XLVI, p. 24.

² *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, S.B.E., Vol. XLIV, pp. 118-19.

³ S.B.E., XLIV, p. 119.

⁴ *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 6.4.1, S.B.E., Vol. XXVI, p. 162.

⁵ *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 6.4.1.

⁶ A.S.I.A.R., 1910-11, p. 45.

⁷ *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*, (VII, 1. 16), edited by Richard Garbe, Vol. I, p. 367.

⁸ Keilhorn, *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. I, p. 8.

⁹ *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1.14.22-25.

¹⁰ *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, S.B.E., Vol. XLIV, p. 124.

¹¹ *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, VI.1. 30, 31.

¹² *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (*Bibliotheca Indica Series*), Vol. 1, pp. 234ff.

¹³ *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III. 6.4.27. A.S.I.A.R., 1910-11, p. 45.

¹⁴ *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI. 7. 3.3, S.B.E., XLIV, p. 124.

¹⁵ *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, VI. 1. 26ff.

¹⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 44.

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rope of Varuṇa (*Varuṇyā rajju*) with the noose of the sacred order (*ritasya pāśa*) by means of which the victim is to be bound to the *yūpa*.¹

Among the earliest of the *yūpas* discovered so far are the Īsāpur stone *yūpas*.² These are octagonal except the lower portion which is square. They are bent at the top but not in the middle, though according to sacred texts a sacrificial stake should be bent at the top and also inwards in the middle. Both the two Īsāpur *yūpas* possess the head piece or the top-ring; and the girdle rope (*raśanā*) with the noose (*pāśa*) is exhibited on both of them and it is more clearly shown on the uninscribed pillar. The epigraph on the other pillar records that it was set up as a sacrificial post by one Droṇala, son of Rudrila, a *Brāhmaṇa* of *Bharadvājagotra*, and chanter of holy hymns on the occasion of the *Dvādaśa* sacrifice in the year 24 of the reign of Shāhi Vāsishka.³ *Dvādaśa* is a sacrificial rite of 12 days. It is both an *Āhina* and a *Sattra*. The main difference between an *Āhina* and *Sattra* is that a *Sattra* can be performed by the *Brāhmaṇas* alone, while an *Āhina* by any one of the first three *varṇas*.⁴ The performer of the *Dvādaśa* sacrifice mentioned in the present inscription was a *Brāhmaṇa*, and hence the sacrifice in question could be the *Dvādaśa* of either type.

A *yūpa* has been discovered at Nāndsā in Sāhārā district of the Udayapur State.⁵ This *yūpa*, it should be noted, is entirely round, though according to the texts a *yūpa* should be made octagonal. There are two inscriptions engraved on the Nāndsā *yūpa*, dated in the *Kṛita* year 282 (the *Kṛita* year is perhaps same as the Vikrama era). The purport of the inscriptions does not seem to be identical. They refer, however, to the performance of an *Ekashashthirātra* sacrifice (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, f.n. 5, p. 247) by one Śaktiguṇaguru.

We have a group of four inscribed *yūpas*⁶ set up by the Kshatriya chiefs of Rajputana. They come from Badvā, Kota State, Rajputana. The Badvā *yūpas* are octagonal besides the portion underground which is square,⁷ like the Īsāpur and Bijyagaḍh *yūpas*. This departure from Sastric injunction is perhaps due to the architectural considerations. 'A pillar octagonal above and square at the bottom is more graceful than the pillar octagonal throughout.' The architect of the Nāndsā *yūpa*,⁸ it should be noted, totally disregarded the textual injunctions as he has made the *yūpas* entirely round or circular. The Badvā *yūpas* have no girdle in the middle, and like other *yūpas* referred to above they are not endowed with any *uparita*.¹⁰ The first three Badvā *yūpas* bear inscriptions in the *Kṛita* year 295 and record the erection of these *yūpas* one each by Balavardhana, Somadeva, and Balasimha in connection with the *Trirātra* sacrifice¹¹ performed duly by them. Balavardhana, Somadeva and Balasimha are sons of one Bala and they are described as Maukharī commander-in-chiefs.¹²

¹ A.S.I.A.R., 1910-11, p. 48.

² Ibid., pp. 40f. Īsāpur is a suburb of the city of Mathurā.

³ Ibid., p. 41. Vāsishka was a Kushāna prince who reigned between Kanishka and Huvishka.

⁴ *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* 1.6.13. *History of Dharmasāstras* by Kane, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 153 and f.n. In *Sattras* there are no separate priests, the *yajamānas* themselves are the priests. According to Jaimini even the *Brāhmaṇas* of *Bhṛigu*, *Sunaka* and *Vasishtha gotras* are not entitled to perform the *Sattras*, *History of Dharmasāstras* by Kane, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 482.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. XXIII, pp. 42ff., XXIV, pp. 251f.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 44.

⁸ Fleet, *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 253.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 45.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 52.

Ibid., f.n. 8.

The fourth *yūpa* from Kotah in Rajputana contains an inscription which as its paleography shows may be dated in the third century A.D. The object of the inscription is to record that the pillar was set up in connection with the *Āptoryāma* sacrifice performed by one Dhanutrāta, son of Hastin of the Maukharī clan. The names of Hastin and Dhanutrāta would suggest that they belonged to a Kshatriya stock.² The whole house of the Badvā Maukharis, it seems, were zealous advocates of the Vedic practices.

We may now discuss the inscribed *yūpa*³ in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. The pillar has been sadly mutilated, only one of its facets along with a small part of the adjoining one on its left has been recovered. To judge from the angles of the facets it is clear that the pillar was originally an octagonal one.⁴ The characters of the inscription engraved on this *yūpa* resemble the scripts of the inscriptions of Ushabhadāta and Rudradāman. Hence the *yūpa* can be attributed to the second century of the Christian era.⁵ This inscription refers to the performance of seven *Soma* sacrifices (technically called *Saptasoma samsthā*).⁶ The sacrificer was one Śivadatta who is called in the inscription a trusted minister of a king whose name is not extant.

Two *yūpas* with inscriptions were discovered at Barnāla, a small village in Jaipur State 'belonging to the Thakurshaheb of Barnāla about eight miles from Lalsote-Gangapur fair weather Road'. It is to be noted that the girdle, or the *pāśa* which is executed round the Īsāpur pillars is absent in these *yūpas* and also Badvā *yūpas*. The inscriptions on Barnāla *yūpas* bear the *Krita* years 284 and 335. The Barnāla *yūpa* inscription 'A' bearing the *Krita* year 284 records the erection of seven *yūpas*⁷ by a person whose gotra was *sohartri* and whose name ended in Vardhana.⁸ Dr. Altekar is of opinion that the sacrificer was a king of the name ending with Vardhana. This supposition is supported by the traces of the letters *Rājño* before the name. The inscription on *yūpa* 'B' refers to the performance of five *Gargatrirātra* sacrifices performed by one Bhāṭṭa. The *Gargatrirātra* sacrifice is an amalgam of *Agnishtoma*, *Ukthya* and *Atirātra*. The inscription ends with the expression, 'May (god) Vishṇu be pleased! May *Dharma* increase'! The name of the sacrificer is not preserved in whole, but his title *Bhāṭṭa* would show that he was a *Brāhmaṇa*.⁹

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar discovered a fragment of *yūpa* at Nagari.¹⁰ The pillar is broken at both ends and bears a mutilated inscription. The words extant in line two of the same read as *sya yajñe Vājapeye yūpa*. This indicates that this *yūpa* was erected in connection with the performance of a *Vājapeya* sacrifice.¹¹ The scripts of the inscription are of the fourth century A.D.

The *yūpas* referred to above are of stone, though according to sacred texts they should be made of wood. The stone *yūpas* were erected perhaps for commemorative purpose in imitation of Mauryan columns.¹¹ It may be noted here that the orthodox Brahmanical practices spread to Further India as early as our period. The Batavia Museum contains a sacrificial post of

¹ The present inscription does not bear any date but its scripts agree very closely with those of the other three Badvā *yūpa* inscriptions. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 252.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 252f.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 245. It was found in the neighbourhood of Kosam, ancient Kauśāmbi.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Seven *Soma* sacrifices constituting *Saptasomasamsthā* are *Agnishtoma*, *Atyagni*, *shṭoma*, *Ukthya*, *Shodasīn*, *Vājapeya*, *Atirātra*, and *Āptoryāma*.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 119 and 120.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

¹⁰ *Memoir, A.S.I.*, No. 4 p. 120.

¹¹ Altekar *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 43.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

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stone from Moeara Kaman, Eastern Borneo. It contains an inscription of eight lines in Venggi characters, of king Mūlavarman¹ (c. 400 A.D.). It ends: *yupa'yam sthāpito vipraiḥ*.

The above-mentioned facts would show that the orthodox Vedic practices were widely prevalent in the society. But it should also be remembered that pure Vedism had no practical or independent existence. Brahmanism, as it developed, became a multiform religious system of which Vedism was one of the constituent factors, the others being its more popular elements, the various Brahmanical cults. The manner in which these elements were harmoniously blended in the normal life of people is illustrated in certain epigraphic records of our period. In the Ghoshuṇḍī and Hāthibādā inscriptions Pārāsariputra Sarvatāta is represented as an *Āśvamedhayājī*, performer of a horse-sacrifice, and also having constructed a stone enclosure for the place of worship called *Nārāyaṇa vāṭa* for *Bhagavat* Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva. Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva are deities of the *Bhāgavata* cult. A gift at their place of worship by Sarvatāta who performed the Vedic Brahmanical rite, i.e. *Āśvamedha* furnishes a striking instance of the harmonious blending of the orthodox and popular beliefs in the religious life of the people. Similar examples are afforded also by a few more contemporary records.

The Nānāghāt cave inscription (first century B.C.) opens with an invocation to Vedic as well as sectarian deities, viz. Indra, Dharma, Saṁkarshaṇa, Vāsudeva and the four *lokapālas*, Yama, Kuvera, Varuṇa and Vāsava and records also the performance of several Vedic sacrifices as noted before. This shows how the same person offers prayer to the orthodox and also to the post-Vedic sectarian deities. The Bhāraśivas, Vākātakas, Pallavas and Kadambas had performed several Vedic sacrifices, though most of them were personally devoted to Saivism.² Similarly, the Ikshvāku prince Śrī Śāntamūla was devoted to the cult of Mahāsenā (Kārtikeya) as the epithet *Mahāsenāparigrihīta*³ shows, and he performed at the same time Vedic sacrifices like *Āśvamedha* and *Vājapeya*, etc. The Allahabad Municipal Museum *yūpa* inscription mentions one Śivadatta, as we have seen before, as having performed seven *Soma* sacrifices and also made a donation to the temple of Śiva. The epigraph concludes with *prītimīyānmaheśvara iti*.⁴

¹ A.S.I.A.R., 1910-11, p. 40 f.n.; Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part I, pp. 126ff.

² Fleet, *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 236, 245, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 31ff.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 251.

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A LIST OF CUSTOMARY LAWS IN A RECORD OF THE SIXTH CENTURY¹

By DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D., Superintendent for
 Epigraphy, Government of India, Ootacamund.

(Received November 14, 1949)

Students of old inscriptions in Prakrit and Sanskrit know that these abound in technical terms and expressions which are not found in the lexicons. Some of the words are no doubt recognized in the lexicons but not exactly in the same senses. None of the compilers of the modern Prakrit, Pali and Sanskrit dictionaries is known to have utilized epigraphic materials. As a result of this, their works can only be regarded as incomplete. In order to draw the attention of scholars to this very important question, we propose in these lines to deal with the lexicographic importance of a West Indian inscription of the sixth century A.D.²

The inscription is dated in the Vikrama year 649 (i.e. 592 A.D.) and belongs to a ruler named Viṣṇuśeṇa (or Viṣṇubhaṭa) who resided at the *vāsaka* (camp or residence) at Lohātā. He is endowed with the five *mahāśabdas* or feudatory titles beginning with *mahākārtākr̥tika*. The real meaning of the word *kārtākr̥tika* is unknown, but it may have indicated the chief executive officer of a king who finally determined what ought or ought not to be done in affairs of State or a judge of a superior court (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 360, n. 9; 502). Viṣṇuśeṇa is also called *śrī-bāva-pādānudhyāta* in which the meaning of *bāva* is uncertain, although it has been explained as signifying an uncle or a relation of the father's generation (C.I.I., III, p. 186n.) The list of officials serving Viṣṇuśeṇa includes *āyuktaka*, *vinīyuktaka*, *vailabdhika*, *drāṅgika*, *cāṭa* and *bhaṭa*.³ In inscriptions, an *āyuktaka* is often found to be the ruler of a district or sub-division; but the distinction between an *āyuktaka* and a *vinīyuktaka* is unknown. We have elsewhere suggested that the *vinīyuktaka* (as also *tad-āyuktaka* or *tad-vinīyuktaka*; cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 351, n. 1) was the ruler of a small territorial unit employed by the Governor of the district and not by the King. The *vailabdhika* may have been the custodian of recovered stolen property as the *yukta* of the *Manusmṛiti*, VIII, 34. The *Rājatarāṅginī* (VII, 161-63), however, uses the word *vilabdhī* probably in the sense of an assignment. The *drāṅgika* may have been the officer in charge of a *drāṅga* explained as a town in the lexicons, but used in the sense of a watch-station in the *Rāj. tar.*, VIII, 2010 (cf. Stein's trans., Vol. II, pp. 291ff.). *Cāṭa* and *bhaṭa* are sometimes taken to mean regular and irregular soldiers respectively, although their duty appears to have been something like that

¹ Paper read before the Classical Sanskrit Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, Bombay Session, held in November, 1949. See *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 287-91.

² We are glad to acknowledge that in the preparation of this paper we have received considerable help from Mahamahopādhyāya P. V. Kane, Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. G. S. Gai and Mr. P. B. Desai.

³ For a discussion on the official designations, cf. P. V. Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. III, pp. 975-1007. Kane now thinks that the *kārtākr̥tika* was somewhat like the present day Legal Remembrancer and invited the king's attention to what was done or left undone.

of the policemen and watchmen or peons. Instead of *cāta*, some inscriptions use the word *chātra* often explained as 'an umbrella-bearer' (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, p. 414, n. 5). For the use of the word *chātra* in our inscription, vide *infra*. Viṣṇuśeṇa's order was addressed not only to the officials but also to the *dhruv-ādhikaraṇa* or the office of the *dhruva* which in Gujarati indicates the agent who collects on behalf of the Rājā his share of the produce of lands from the tenants (cf. *C.I.I.*, III, p. 170n.).

It is said that Viṣṇuśeṇa had been approached by the community of merchants with the request of being favoured by his own *ācāra-sthiti-pātra* which they might utilize in protecting and favouring their own people and that the merchants were favoured with the ruler's *sthiti-pātra* used in the protection and settlement of his dominions. This *sthiti-pātra* or *ācāra-sthiti-pātra* is elsewhere also called *anugraha-sthiti-pātra*, *sthiti-vyavasthā* and *sthiti-pātra-vyavasthā* and is actually a list of customary laws which is quoted in the inscription in extenso and is very valuable not only to a lexicographer but also to all students of ancient Indian history.¹ We quote below the text of the seventy-two customary laws one by one.

1. *Āputrakam na grāhyam*. *Āputraka* possibly means the property belonging to a person who died without leaving a son. The *ācāra* seems to say that such property should not be confiscated by royal officials disregarding the claim of any legal heir other than the son.

2. *Unmara-bhedo na karaṇīyo rāja-puruṣeṇa*. This is probably connected with No. 1 above. The royal officials are asked not to break open the *unmara*, the meaning of which is unknown. It may be related to the word *umbara* (Pali *ummāra*, Prakrit *ummara*) and may indicate technically the closed door of a house.

3. *Udbhāvaka-vyavahāro na grāhyah*. The word *vyavahāra* here may be taken in the sense of a law-suit; but the real meaning of *udbhāvaka* is uncertain. It may refer to a case carelessly put before the court (cf. *udbhāvana*, 'neglect') or to one based on fabrication or false allegation.

4. *Śaṅkayā grahaṇam n=āsti*. It apparently says that the royal officials should not go in for the apprehension of persons or for taking up a case against one or for seizing things through mere suspicion (*śaṅka*) of a crime.

5. *Puruṣ-āparādhe strī na grāhyā*. This means to say that the wife should not be apprehended for her husband's guilt.

6. *Kṣem-āgni-samutthāne chalo na grāhyah* or *A-kṣem°*. The word *chala*, which ordinarily, means 'a pretext', is used in the Smṛti literature in the sense of a careless declaration while *bhūta* means a solemn statement of truth (cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, N.S. Press, p. 130).² The meaning is that no careless declaration of a case was acceptable when the question was that of an attempt at burning a house. Cf. Nos. 7 and 9. But the ordinary meaning of *chala* is also applicable to all these cases; cf. No. 31 below.

7. *Svayam hrasite karṇe chalo na grāhyah*. No careless accusation was acceptable from a man in regard to the cutting of a bit from his own ears.

¹ The Lakshmeswar Kannada inscription of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya II of about 725 A.D. quotes an *ācāra-vyavasthā* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 190-91). But this damaged record has not been of any help in the elucidation of the inscription under discussion.

² See also *Sukra-nīti-sāra* (ed. G. Oppert), IV, v, verses 162-63. *Ibid.*, verses 87-80 use the word *chala* in the sense of certain offences against the king, of which (together with the offences styled *rāja-jñeya* and *aparādha*) the court could take direct cognizance without the cases being brought to it by any party. Ordinarily the court was not to take cognizance of an offence or dispute unless it had been brought to it by a party. Cf. *University of Ceylon Review*, January, 1950, p. 29.

• Cf. No. 37 below. If *hrasita* may be taken in the sense of 'sounded', the reference may be to a case in which the details of a dispute had previously reached the ears of the judge who was then in a position to detect the fabricated element in the statement put to him without investigation.

8. *Arthi-pratyarthinā vinā vyavahāro na grāhyah*. A law suit could be taken up for disposal only when the complainant and the defendant were both present and never in the absence of any one of the parties.

9. *Āpaṇe āsanasthasya chalo na grāhyah*. No careless statement of accusation was acceptable from a person who had been at the time of occurrence busy in selling things in a shop or market.

10. *Go-śakaṭam na grāhyam*. This seems to be related to No. 11 below.

11. *Sāmant-āmātya-dūtānām=anyeśām c=ābhyaupāgame śayanīy-āsana-siddhānām na dūpayet*. When a subordinate chief, an officer or an envoy of the king came to a village, the inhabitants thereof could not be compelled to supply beds or couches, seats and boiled rice. Such things, however, are known to have been usually supplied by the villagers, and the kings are found to have exempted gift villages from these obligations. Cf. such *parihāras* or exemptions as *a-kūra-collaka-vināśi-khatvā-samvāsa* and *a-paramparā-balivarda-grahaṇa* explained in the *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 186ff. It may be pointed out that inscriptions speak of supplying bullocks to the touring officials by the inhabitants of different villages in succession, but not of carts. Cf. No. 10 above.

12. *Sarva-śreṇinām=ek-āpaṇako na deyah*. Members of different guilds should not be allowed to flock to the same market. The idea seems to be that different guilds should occupy different markets or at least different quarters of the same market.

13. *Sarva-śreṇibhiḥ khovā-dānam na dātavyam*. All the guilds should not be compelled to pay *khovā*, the meaning of which is unknown. It may be the same thing as the *aṭṭapati-bhāga* or 'the share of the lord of the market' mentioned as a tax in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, V, 164.

14. *Rājakule=dhikaraṇasya ca rāj-ārgghikā deyā; anyeśām=adeyā*. Periodical offerings to be made to the king should be brought to the palace or to the particular office engaged in collecting them but not to anybody else. *Rāj-ārgghikā* may be the same as *rāja-pradeya* of the *Manusamhitā*; cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 187. The word also occurs in No. 45 below.

15. *Vārikasya haste nyāsako na sthāpanīyāḥ*. This is probably related to No. 14 above. The offerings meant for the King were not to be deposited with the *vārika*. The word *vārika* apparently indicates a royal officer. It may be the Gujarati *varedār* or tax-gatherer. The *Brhaspati-smṛti* (G.O.S. Ed., p. 159) mentions *vārika* along with the *caturvaidya*, *vanik*, *sarvagrāmīna*, *mahattara*, etc., and the *Rāj. tar.*, VI, 345, in the designation *kaṭaka-vārika*; but the meaning is not clear. Monier-Williams recognizes the word *nāga-vārika* in his Dictionary, while the word *śānti-vārika* is found in the inscriptions of the Candras of Bengal. Words like *vāra-pramukha* and *pañca-vāri* occur in several other inscriptions (*E.I.*, Vol. XV, p. 138n.)

16. *Para-viśayāt=kāraṇ-ābhyāgato vāṇijakaḥ para-reṣe na grāhyah*. The word *reṣa* means 'injury' and possibly means a 'dispute' in the present context. A merchant belonging to another district or kingdom could not possibly be implicated in a case in which he was not directly concerned.

17. *Āvedanakena vinā utkr̥ṣṭi na grāhyā*. This seems to be related to No. 16 above; but the meaning of *utkr̥ṣṭi* is unknown. *Āvedanaka* may indicate 'stating a complaint in court' and *utkr̥ṣṭi* may be the same as Pali *ukkutthi* (Sanskrit *utkrośa*, *utkr̥ṣṭi*) meaning wailing. A proper complaint and not mere wailing was acceptable to the court.

18. *Vākpārasya-dandapāruṣyayoḥ sāksitve sārī na grāhyā*. The *sāksit* bird was not allowed as a witness in cases of defamation and assault.

19. *Dheṅku-kaṭṭhaka-ṇila-dumphaś=chaviṣṭim(ṣṭiḥ) na kīrayatavyāḥ*. The *dumphaś* of a *ṇila-kuṭi* liable to pay a certain tax is also referred to in No. 48 below. *Dheṅku* is possibly the same as Hindi *dheṅkī* or *dheṅkū* meaning 'a machine for extracting juice, while *kaṭṭhaka* and *dumphaś* may respectively stand for Sanskrit *karṣaka* and *drūmphaś*. The manufacturer of the blue dye from the indigo plant and that of sugar-cane juice are probably the persons indicated here as unaffected by the rule of forced labour.

20. *Prapāpū [ra]ka-gopālā rāja-grahena na grāhyāḥ*. *Prapā-pūra* was a person entrusted with *prapā-pūraṇa*, 'filling cisterns with water in a place for watering cattle'. Such persons as well as the milkmen were not to be apprehended or recruited for free labour on the king's behalf. Cf. *Brhaspati-smṛti*, p. 26.

21. *Grh-āpana-sthitānām mudrā-patraka-dūtakaiḥ sāhasavarjam=āhvānam na karaṇīyam*. Persons engaged in work at home or at the shop could be summoned to the court by means of a seal-ring or a letter or by a messenger only if they were involved in a criminal case. Cf. *Brhaspati-smṛti*, p. 24; see also Kane, *Kātyāyana-sār-oddhāra*, verse 88.

22. *Parēṇ=ārth-ābhivyuktānām vāda-pratisamāsane yajña-satra-vivāḍaḍiṣu āhvānam na kārayet*. Persons engaged in such works as the worship of a deity, a sacrifice or a marriage ceremony could not be summoned to the court to refute the charges brought against them. *Artha* may refer to an *artha-mūla* or civil (and not *himsā-mūla* or criminal) suit. Vide *Kātyāyana-sār-oddhāra*, verse 108. Or there may be reference here to two different sets of persons who should not be summoned: (1) one engaged in *yajña*, etc. (cf. *Brhaspati-smṛti*, p. 22); and (2) one already involved in another case (cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 125).

23. *Rn-ādān-ābhilekhita-vyavahāre a-kāṣṭha-loha-baddhena kṛta-pratibhvena(bhuvā) guptir=upāsya*. In connection with a written complaint about the realization of borrowed money, the debtor, when he was not *a-kāṣṭha-loha-baddha* (not under wooden or metal hand-cuff) because of his being *kṛta-pratibhū* (one for whom security was furnished by somebody), could enjoy the protection of the court. It seems to say that in the case of a debtor, for whom security was furnished, neither hand-cuffs nor guards at court were necessary. When no *pratibhū* was furnished, the court had to arrange for the person's watch and the cost of it had to be borne by the parties. Cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 126.

24. *Varsāsu sva-viṣayāt bij-ārtham=āgataka-karṣakāḥ svāmīnā na grāhyāḥ*. Cf. *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, III, 11; *Brhaspati-smṛti*, pp. 22, 26. See also *Kātyāyana-sār-oddhāra*, verse 109. Cultivators coming out of their places for sowing seeds during the rainy season were not to be apprehended or engaged by the King or landlord in free labour.

25. *Āśādha-māsi pauṣe cha draṣṭavyam māna-pautavam; ādāne rūpakasā-pādaḥ saha dhārmikeṇa*. For *pautava* and *pautav-āpacāra* (fraud in regard to measures), see *Arthaśāstra*, IV, 2 (cf. pp. 103-105 of the Mysore Ed.). The *māna-pautava* which had to be examined in the months of *Āśādha* and *Pauṣa* seems to have been a store-house where grains were measured and stored. *Ādāna* no doubt refers to the collection of tax and *dhārmika* seems to point to an extraordinary case somehow associated with religious merit. This is suggested by the frequent use of these two terms in the latter part of the document. Possibly there were two kinds of store-houses, one working on a small fee and the other working free of charges; but there was no reduction of inspection tax for the latter.

26. *A-samvādyā vyavaharataḥ śulka-ādikaṁ ca dhāṇy-ādi praveśayato niṣkāśayato vā śulkam=aṣṭa-guṇam dāpyaḥ*. It seems to be related to No. 25 above. If a store-house collected fees and stored and disposed of grains without informing the royal officials, it had to pay eight times the usual tax, i.e. ten silver coins. This may also refer to the bringing and taking out of goods without check up with officials on matters of *śulka*, etc., as per the rules laid down. Cf. *Arthasāstra*, II, 23 (Mysore, Second Ed., p. 112).

27. *Peṭavika-vārikena pañca-rātrake pañca-rātrake karavyam=arggha-nivedanam; a-nivedayato vinaye rūpakāḥ ṣaḍ=dhārmike pādāḥ*. The *peṭavika-vārika* appears to be a particular class of *vārika* or official that was responsible for the delivery of the *rāj-ārghikā* received from the subjects. The word *peṭavika* may be associated with Marathi *peṭā* (subdivision of a *taluk*) or *peṭh* (a trading town or emporium). The punishment for non-delivery was the fine of six silver coins; but in the case of *dhārmika*, i.e., when there was any reasonable excuse, the fine was only one-fourth silver coin. *Vinaya* means 'fine' (cf. Nārada quoted in *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 126). This may possibly also refer to the rule that every five days the official should have fixed the prices (*argha*) of commodities and informed the prices so fixed to the higher authorities. Cf. *Manu-smṛti*, VIII, 402; also *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 270.

28. *Uttarakulika-vārikaiḥ māna-bhāṇḍa-meya-gate bahir=na gamavyam*. *Uttarakulika*, like *peṭavika*, possibly meant another class of *vārika* or official that appears to have been associated with the law-court. In cases of disputes in regard to the measurement, the measuring pot or the thing measured, such officers were possibly not allowed to go out of the court to be influenced by one party or the other.

29. *Uttarakulika-vārikāṇām=eva karaṇa-sannidhau chātrena trir=aḡhuṣiṭānām nirupasthānād=vinaye rūpaka-dvayaṁ sa-pādām saha dhārmikeṇa*. *Karaṇa* apparently means *adhikaraṇa*, 'law-court', and *chātra* seems to indicate a peon or a constable. *Karaṇa* as a contraction of *adhikaraṇa* is found in the Midnapur plates of Śaśāṅka (*Pravāsi*, Śrāvāṇa, B.S. 1350, pp. 193ff.), while the word *chātra* is used in the above sense in some inscriptions (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 414 and note 5). It seems that there was no excuse for the absence of the *vārikas* of the *uttarakulika* class when they had been thrice summoned to the court by a court peon. The fine for the offence was two and one-fourth silver coins even if there was any good reason for absence.

30. *Vyavahār-ābhilekhitaka-karaṇa-sevakasy=ā-madhyāhnād=ūrdhvaṁ nirupasthitasya vinayo rūpakāḥ ṣaṭ=sā-pādās=saha dhārmikeṇa*. Cf. *adhikaraṇa-lekhaka* or official recorder in the *Rāj. tar.*, VI, 38. If the clerks who had to write down the statements of cases in the law-court were absent from the court after mid-day, they were liable to a fine of six and one-fourth silver coins.

31. *Ā-madhyāhnād=ūrdhvaṁ=uttarakulika-vārikāṇām chalo n=āsti*. No pretext (or flimsy excuse) of the *uttarakulika-vārikas*, absent from the court after mid-day, was to be accepted.

32. *Arggha-vañcane rūpaka-trayaṁ sa-pādām saha dhārmikeṇa*. This seems to refer to the *peṭavika-vārikas* (No. 27 above). In cases of fraud in regard to the delivery of *rāj-ārghikā*, the officers concerned were liable to a fine of three and one-fourth silver coins and the fine could not be reduced even when there was a reasonable excuse. Here *arggha-vañcana* may also refer to the flouting of the prices fixed by the authorities.

33. *Mudr-āpacāre vinaye-rūpakāḥ ṣaṭ=sā-pādāḥ saha dhārmikeṇa*. *Mudr-āpacāra* is 'using counterfeit coins'; cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 268.

(verse 240 and quotation from Kātyāyana). The fine for this crime was six and one-fourth silver coins and no excuse for reduction of the fine was allowed.

34. *Sthāvara-tya(vya)vahāre sāmantaīh avasitasya vinayo rūpakāḥ śatam=aṣṭottaram 108*. This seems to say that a *sāmanta* or subordinate ruler (cf. No. 11 above) was liable to a fine of 108 silver coins if he disposed of a case in regard to landed property. The *sāmantas* may have also been men from neighbouring villages who were to settle boundary disputes (*Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, II, 152) and the meaning may be that the defeated party in a boundary dispute had to pay a fine of 108 silver coins.

35. *Samvadane rūpakāḥ chatuṣpañcāśat*. But the fine was only 64 silver coins if information had duly been given to the king about the case. In case the second interpretation of No. 34 is preferred, this may refer to the party that had itself invited arbitration in a boundary dispute but was defeated.

36. *Jayike bhāṣā phālāvane cā(ca) rūpaka-trayaṁ sa-pādam*. This *ācāra* is difficult to explain. But it may mean that the winning party (*jayika*) in a boundary dispute was to be given a written declaration (*bhāṣā*) in his favour, although he had to pay $3\frac{1}{4}$ silver coins for the protection of his ploughed field (*phāl-āvana*) from the encroachment of the defeated party in the dispute.

37. *Ullāmbane karna-trotane ca vinayo rūpakāḥ saptaviṁśat*. The fine for *ullambana* (leaping over one, or hanging as in the *Arthaśāstra*, IV, 8) or for cutting one's ear was 27 silver coins. Cf. No. 7 above.

38. *Vākparuṣya-dandaparūṣyayoḥ vinaye rūpakāḥ ṣaṭ=sa-pādāḥ*. The fine for the offence of defamation and assault was six and one-fourth silver coins.

39. *Kṣata-darśane rūpakāḥ aṣṭa-catvāriṁśat*. In cases of *danda-paruṣya* involving infliction of wounds, the fine was 48 silver coins.

40. *Gavāṁ tauṇḍike viṁśopakāḥ pañca*. Five *viṁśopakas* were equal to one-fourth of a silver coin, a *viṁśopaka* being $\frac{1}{20}$ of the standard silver money. Cf. 5 *viṁśopakas* given as $\frac{1}{4}$ silver coin in No. 57 below; also *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 210. The meaning of *tauṇḍika* is 'biting of crops with the mouth'; cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, II, 159. The offence involving *tauṇḍika* of cows caused a fine of five *viṁśopakas*.

41. *Mahiṣyās=tad-dviguṇam*. But the fine for the offence involving *tauṇḍika* of a she-buffalo was ten *viṁśopakas*, i.e. one-half silver coin. Cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, loc. cit.

42. *Madya-bhājanasy=āvalokye rūpakāḥ pañca*. *Āvalokya*, derived from *avaloka* seems to mean 'detection'. If one was found out with a vessel full of wine, his fine was five silver coins.

43. *Prathama-bhājanane dhārmike adhikarāṇasya rūpaka-dvayaṁ sārḍhaṁ rū° 2½*. But when it was the first offence and no bad motive could be substantiated, the fine to be paid to the court was only $2\frac{1}{2}$ silver coins.

44. *Anāprstvā(cchya) sandhayato dvitīye=haṇi tad-dviguṇam dāpyaḥ*. The first two words appear to refer to the *adhikarāṇa*. This *ācāra* seems to say that if a man, let off for the first offence with light punishment, was caught with a vessel full of wine for the second time, his fine was double the amount prescribed in No. 43.

45. *Surā-karāṇasy=āvalokye rūpaka-trayaṁ; dhārmike rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ; rāj-ārgḥikayā marīya-cātūrtha-dvayaṁ rū° 2*. If one was caught while distilling liquor, his fine was three silver coins. But the fine was $1\frac{1}{4}$ silver coins if no bad motive could be substantiated, although two *cātūrthas* (one *cātūrtha* being $\frac{1}{4}$ of the standard measure of a liquid substance; cf. No. 47 and 70 below) of wine had to be paid as *rāj-ārgḥikā* (cf. No. 14 above).

46. *Kāmsya-dosy-āyudhānām = āśādhī(dha)-paurṇamāsī-bharolaka-nirodha grahaṇaka-praviṣṭam bhavati; grahaṇakeṣu daṇḍako n = ānusa-*
ariyāḥ. This *ācāra* is possibly related to the distillation of wine (cf. Nos. 45 and 47); but it is very difficult to explain. The word *āyudha* may be taken in its old sense of 'vessel' and *dosya*, which is unknown, may possibly be a metal like *kāmsya* or bell-metal. It seems that the *bharolaka* (distillery?) was closed on the full-moon day of *Āśādhā* and the vessels used in distillation were put into the *grahaṇaka* (custody?) and that the *daṇḍaka* (rule about the supply of the king's share of wine?) was not to be followed during that period.

47. *Rājakiya-gaṇje kalvapāla-vārikena cātūrtha-śoṭi-hastena meyaṁ muktā n = ānyat = kimcit = karaṇīyam.* *Gaṇja* (treasury or a fund in the *Rāj. tar.*, IV, 589; VII, 125-26) was a store-house and the *vārika* or officer of the *kalvapāla* (the same as *kalyapāla* or *kalyāpāla*, i.e. 'spirit-distiller', of the lexicons and the *Rāj. tar.*, IV, 677, and *kalpāla* of Viśvarūpa's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, Vyavahāra, verse 50) class was the officer in charge of the store-house for wine. For *kalvapāla*, cf. Hindi *kalvār*. *Śoṭi* seems to mean a measuring pot used in measuring liquids like wine. Cf. *Soṭu* in old Kannaḍa inscriptions and *savaṭu* in modern Kannaḍa. While measuring wine in *cātūrthas* or quarter-measures at the royal store-house with the measuring pot in hand, the officer was possibly not allowed to divert his attention to some other work. For *cātūrtha*, see No. 45 above and No. 70 below.

48. *Nilā-kuṭy-ādānam dūmphaḥkena deyaṁ rūpaka-trayaṁ rū° 3.* *Nilā-kuṭi* may mean an indigo factory and *dūmphaḥka* its owner or supervisor. Cf. No. 19 above. The *dūmphaḥka* had to pay the tax of three silver coins for a *nilā-kuṭi*.

49. *Iksu-vāt-ādānam rūpakāḥ dvātriṁśat rū° 32; dhārmike rūpaka-drayaṁ sa-pādāḥ.* The tax for a sugar-cane plantation was 32 silver coins; but it was only 2½ silver coins if the field belonged to a religious establishment.

50. *Alla-vāṭasy = āto = rdh-ādānam.* The tax for an *alla-vāṭa* was half the amount prescribed in No. 49. The word *alla* in Pali means 'moist' and *alla-vāṭa* may probably indicate 'low land' (planted with sugar-cane).

51. *Yantra-kuty-ādānam rūpaka-trayaṁ rū° 3; dhārmike rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ.* *Yantra-kuṭi* may indicate an oil-mill or manufactory for which the tax to be paid was three silver coins, although the tax was only 1½ silver coins if the *yantra-kuṭi*'s productions were meant for a religious cause.

52. *Varṣa-paryuṣitā vaṇijāḥ prāveśyaṁ śulka-ātiyātrikaṁ na dāpānīyāḥ; nairgamikaṁ deyaṁ.* Merchants staying abroad for a year were not to pay any entrance fee while returning to their native place; but they had to pay the exit tax when they went out again. *Ātiyātrika* is no doubt connected with *ātiyātrā* used in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 92, l. 27) in the sense of 'fare for crossing the boundary'.

53. *Bhāṇḍa-bhṛta-vahitrasya śulka-ātiyātrike rūpakāḥ dvādaśa rū° 12; dhārmike rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ rū° 1½.* For a boat full of vessels probably of metal, the crossing fare was 12 silver coins; but if the vessels were meant for any religious purpose, the tax was only 1½ silver coins. On the rates for ferry crossing, see *Manu-smṛti*, VIII, 403ff.; *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 274 and commentary.

54. *Mahiṣ-oṣṭra-bharakasya rūpakāḥ pañca sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmikeṇa.* For a boat full of buffaloes and camels, the tax was 5½ silver coins and there was no reduction even if they were meant for some religious cause. *Bharaka* seems to mean the same thing as *bhṛta-vahitra* of No. 53 above and 61 below. The word is also used in Nos. 56 and 67 below.

55. *Balivari-ādānam rūpaka-dvayaṃ sārddham rū° 2½*; *dhārmikeṇa pādāḥ ¼*. The tax for a boat full of bulls was 2½ silver coins; but, if they were meant for a religious cause, the tax was only ¼ silver coin. This seems to be connected with Nos. 53-54 above and 56 below.

56. *Gardabha-bharak-ādāne rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ rū° 1¼ saha dhārmikeṇa*. The tax for a boat full of asses was 1¼ silver coins and there was no reduction even if they were meant for a religious cause.

57. *Ato=rdhena poṭṭalikā-saṃkācitak-ādānam; avalambakasya vimśopakāḥ pañca ¼*. The tax for bundles (*poṭṭalikā*) suspended from loops probably in shops was half of 1¼ silver coins and for the hanger of such loops the tax was five *vimśopakas* or ¼ silver coin. The word *saṃkācitaka* is no doubt related to *kācita* used as an adjective; but in No. 68 below it has been used as a noun possibly in the sense of a loop. The same may also be the meaning in the present case.

58. *Pala-śatasya vimśopaka-dvayaṃ saha dhārmikeṇa*. A bundle weighing 100 *palas* was taxed at two *vimśopakas* and there was no reduction even if it contained things meant for a religious cause.

59. *Yath-opari-likhita-bhāṇḍ-ādānāt dhānyasya=ārdh=ādānam*. This seems to be related to No. 53 above. A boat full of paddy was taxed at half the amount prescribed for a boat full of vessels.

60. *Ādraka-lakāṭāyāḥ śulka-ātiyātrike rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmikeṇa rū° 1¼*. The crossing fare for a boat full of ginger and *lakāṭā* was 1¼ silver coins and there was no reduction even if the things were meant for a religious purpose. *Lakāṭā* may be the name of a kind of spices or may be the same as modern *lakḍī* or fuel.

61. *Vaṃśa-bhrta-vahitrasya rūpakāḥ ṣaṭ sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmikeṇa*. The tax for a boat full of bamboos was 1¼ silver coins and there was no reduction even if the material was meant for a religious purpose.

62. *Skandha-vāhyaṃ dhānyaṃ śulkaṃ na pradāpayet*. There was no tax for paddy to be carried by a person on his shoulder. Cf. *Nārada-smṛti*, ed. Jolly, p. 134.

63. *Kaṇikkā-kustumbarī-rājikā-prabhṛtīnām varṇikā-grahaṇe setikā grāhyā*. *Kaṇikkā* is the Prakrit form of *kanikā* meaning cummin seed. *Rājikā* is black mustard, while *kustumbarī* is the coriander seed. *Varṇikā* is the same as Prakrit *vannīā* meaning 'sample', while *setikā* is the same as Prakrit *seīā* or *seīgā* indicating a measure equal to two *prasṛtis*. The word *prasṛti* means the palm of the hand stretched out and hollowed and also a handful of things regarded as equivalent to two *palas* in weight. It seems therefore that only two handfuls of cummin seed, black mustard and coriander seed could be taken as sample by royal officials.

64. *Vivāha-yajñ-otsava-simantonnayaneṣu ca śulkaṃ na pradāpayet*. Ceremonies such as marriage were not to be taxed. Cf. receipts of the office styled *grhākṛtya* in the *Rājatarāṅginī*, V, 157, 176; VII, 42.

65. *Vara-yātrāyāṃ sulk-ādi(tī)yātrike rūpakāḥ dvādaśa; paṭṭaka-dhārmike rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ rū° 1¼*. If the procession of a bridegroom had to cross the boundary of the kingdom or district to reach the house of the bride, it had to pay the crossing fare of 12 silver coins; but, if it was legalized by means of a *paṭṭaka* or pass-port, the fare was only 1¼ silver coins.

66. *Madya-vahanakasya=ādāne rūpakāḥ pañca rū° 5; dhārmike rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ rū° 1¼*. If a vehicle or boat full of wine had to cross the border, it was taxed at five silver coins, although the tax was reduced to 1¼ silver coins if the wine was meant for a religious purpose. This may be related to No. 65 above.

67. *Kṇālla-[ha]rākasya rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmikeṇa rū° 1¼*

The tax for a boat full of *khalla* (possibly meaning leather) was only $1\frac{1}{4}$ silver coins even if it was required for a religious purpose.

68. *Kekāyāḥ saṁkācitakasya ca ato=rdh-ādānam*. Cf. No. 57 above. For a loop holding *kelā*, the tax was half of $1\frac{1}{4}$ silver coins. The meaning of *kelā* is uncertain, although *kelā* in Hindi stands for Sanskrit *kadalī*.

69. *Pāda-ghaṭasya viṁśopakāḥ pañca saha dhārmikeṇa*. The tax for a *pāda-ghaṭa* was five *viṁśopakas*, i.e. $\frac{1}{4}$ silver coin and it was not reduced even when the thing was meant for a religious cause. The meaning of *pāda-ghaṭa* is uncertain; but possibly it indicated a jar holding water to be used in washing feet. This is possibly related to No. 65 above.

70. *Kaṭu-madye śidhu-cāturtka-trayaṁ 3*. Three *cāturtas* or quarter-measures (cf. Nos. 45 and 47 above) of the liquor called *śidhu* were regarded as the tax for very strong liquors. This may also be related to No. 65 above.

71. *Chimpaka-kolika-padakārāṇāṁ yath-ānurūpa-karmaṇaḥ janapada-mūlyād=rājakule=rdh-ādānam*. The *chimpakas*, *kolikas* and *padakāras*, who appear to have been followers of particular professions, possibly had to pay as tax half the money that would be the price of the things produced by them according to the standard of price prevalent in the locality. *Kolika* may be the same as Sanskrit *kaulika* or a weaver and *padakāra* may possibly be a shoe-maker. The meaning of *chimpaka* is uncertain. May it be connected with Marathi *śimpī* and Kannaḍa *cippiga* or *simpiga* (from Sanskrit *śilpin*) meaning 'a tailor'?

72. *Lohakāra-rathakāra-nāpita-kumbhakāra-prabhṛtīnāṁ vārikeṇa viṣṭiḥ karaṇīyā*. The blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers, potters and others could be recruited for forced labour under the supervision of the *vārikas* or officers.

King Viṣṇuṣeṇa (Viṣṇubhāṭa) further says that he also approved of other *ācāras* that were handed down from ancient times, besides those mentioned above. He ends with a request that his *anugraha-sthiti-pātra* should be approved by the future rulers of the country.

In conclusion, I request all scholars to take note of the interesting words and senses that are noticed in the present record but are not recognized in the Sanskrit *koṣas* and to try to interpret the passages which I have failed to explain as well as to improve upon the interpretations offered in this paper. I shall be glad to consider carefully whatever suggestions scholars may kindly communicate to me on any of the many points raised by the inscription.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE VRKṢĀYURVEDA OF PARĀŚARA

By NITYENDRA NATH SIRCAR

(Received February 21, 1950)

(Communicated by Dr. G. P. Mazumdar)

The present article is an attempt to bring to the notice of the botanical world and of the Indologists the discovery of a long lost but much referred to manuscript on Botany in Ancient India, namely, the Vrṣṣāyurveda of Parāśara. The Kautilya Arthasastra, the Agni and other Puranas, the Bṛhatsamhita and the Sukranīti amongst others, have each a chapter on some aspects of this Veda. The Vātsāyana Kāmasūtra includes the Vrṣṣāyurveda amongst the 64 *kalās* or arts developed in India. But so long the search for a manuscript of this treatise remained unfruitful.

The author has come across a copy of the manuscript of the Vrṣṣāyurveda of Parāśara.¹ Though the last portion of the said work dealing with the treatment of plant diseases (चिकित्सितकाण्ड) is not available, the main text gives us an idea of the development of the botanical science in Ancient India long before the Christian era. It is astonishing that at so remote a period such a well-developed science grew to outdid the time.

Parāśara who was a contemporary of Agniveśa² wrote or compiled this treatise on the Science of Plants and Plant-life at the request of the Rṣis assembled at a conference (*vide infra*) 'to give an account of the herbs and plants that were beneficial to the mankind'. This treatise was evidently made the basis of botanical teaching preparatory to pharmaceutical studies in ancient days as Botany in modern times. As an illustration may be cited the test which the celebrated Jivaka had to pass at the final examination at the University of Taxila for his efficiency in medicine. He was in course of the examination asked to 'collect, describe, identify and fully

¹ The original manuscript was discovered by the author's father, the late Vaidyasastrī Jogendranath Visagratna of Navadwip, Bengal, who became a great scholar in Parasarian Botany by its application in actual Nature Study. A copy of the said manuscript with a Bengali translation of a portion done by him is in the possession of the present author who intends to publish the entire manuscript with notes, emendations, etc. in the form of a monograph.

² As regards the identity of Parāśara and his time we need not enter into any lengthy discussion on the ground that the same can be easily established from the following:—

अग्निवेशश्च भेलश्च जतुकर्ण-पराशरः ।

चारौतः चारपाणिश्च जगद्वस्तुनेर्वचः ॥

C.S., Sutrasthana, ch. i.

And if the chronology of Charaka can be fixed somewhere in the pre-Buddhist era (see History of Hindu Chemistry, by P. C. Roy, Vol. I, p. xv), then evidently the time of Parāśara can also be further pushed back. Parāśara was one of the six disciples of Ātreya, and compiled the Vrṣṣāyurveda for the benefit of the students of medicine which in the time of Charaka and his predecessors was mostly confined to the study of drugs of vegetable origin.

describe the properties of plants that were to be found within four *yojanas* of the University town', and this Jivaka did to the entire satisfaction of his teacher.¹

It is quite obvious that with the extinction of ancient Indian Universities and Seats of Learning, the knowledge compiled in manuscripts, and the teaching based on these manuscripts conveyed from generation to generation became mutilated, scrappy, destroyed and finally forgotten in many cases. There is no doubt that Charaka, Suśruta and other authors of the Ayurvedic Pharmacopœias have followed the Botany of Parāśara in naming the plants and herbs that have been mentioned in their works. For each vegetable drug they adopted three kinds of synonyms, viz. (1) synonyms with botanical significance (परिचयज्ञापिका संज्ञा), (2) synonyms with therapeutic index (गुणप्रकाशिका संज्ञा), and (3) synonyms associated with the names of habitats or special events. Without, therefore, a knowledge of the Vṛkṣāyurveda botanical synonyms of plants used in these Vaidyaka treatises cannot be properly interpreted and identified in many cases, and that is why it is not possible for one in these days to become conversant with the identities of the vegetable drugs of Indian Pharmacopœias. An illustration will, the author hopes, clear the point. *Kurchapuspakam* is a synonym of *Puškaramulam*,² a reputed drug having high therapeutic values and of classical importance as a perfume and fumigatory. This synonym has got a botanical significance helping the identification of the drug *puškaramula*. According to Parāśara, *Kurchapuspakam* means a typical flower with all the characteristics of the family, Compositae.³ But to one who is not versed in the Vṛkṣāyurveda this synonym will appear as nothing but a name, and that will not help him in identifying the drug which is the chief aim for using it.

At the present moment an attempt is being made by the universities and other institutions to compose scientific works in Indian vernaculars. With the discovery of the manuscript the author hopes that so far as the botanical terms are concerned, those used in it being in Sanskrit language may be adopted for the whole of India. Scientifically these terms appear to the author very accurate and appropriate. The importance of the discovery of this manuscript can also be stressed from another point of view, namely, pharmacognosical. The National Government has paid due attention to the revival of indigenous system of medicine, and its realization, which

¹ Preface to B. C. Sen Gupta's *Vanausadhi-darpan*, Vol. I, 1908.

² The drug *Puškaramūla* was not correctly identified till an article on it was published by the author (*vide Ind. Jour. Phar.*, IV, No. 2, B.H.U.). In this connection it may be mentioned here that a careful perusation into the existing literature on Indian Medicinal plants has revealed to the author numerous instances of misidentification which evidently misguide or confuse the workers interested in pharmacological and therapeutic studies of the indigenous medicinal plants. The author has already brought to light several instances of misidentification along with their proper identification in the light of the Vṛkṣāyurveda (*Sc. and Culture*, vii, pp. 120-22, 1941; *Ind. Jour. Phar.*, iv, Nos. 2, 3, 4 and Vol. V, Nos. 2 and 3).

³ The definition of *Kurchapuspakam* is given in the Appendix with annotation and interpretation. In this connection another very pertinent example can be cited here. In the Vṛkṣāyurveda Section of the Agnipurāṇa *Kuraṇṭa* (*Barleria cristata* Linn.) is given as an example where propagation is carried out by means of *abhrabija* (अभ्रबीज). To understand what is meant by *abhrabija* we are to take the help of the Vṛkṣāyurveda where we find: प्रकृत्या परिपक्वे शुष्के वा वेभ्यः सशब्देन दूरे बीजानि निपतन्ति तानि फलानि नुमतसाध्वीजफलानि भवन्ति यथा कुरण्टादयश्चेति—Vṛkṣāyurveda, Bījotpattikāṇḍa, Phalāṅga Sātridhyāya. It means explosive fruits, and *Barleria* has explosive fruits.

invariably commends a scientific approach to the problem, necessitates proper identification of vegetable drugs.¹

In the following pages is given a brief account of the contents of the manuscript with a list of technical terms with their English equivalents in the Appendix I. A fuller and exhaustive studies of the entire work will come out in proper form elsewhere in due course.

CONTENTS OF THE VRKṢĀYURVEDA

The whole work is divided into six parts:—

1. Bijotpattikāṇḍa (बीजोत्पत्तिकाण्डः).
2. Vanāspatikāṇḍa (वनस्पतिकाण्डः).
3. Vānaspatyakāṇḍa (वानस्पत्यकाण्डः).
4. Vīrudhavalikāṇḍa (वीरुधवल्लिकाण्डः).
5. Gulmakṣupakāṇḍa (गुल्मक्षुपकाण्डः).
6. Chikitsitakāṇḍa (चिकित्सितकाण्डः).

The first part, the Bijotpattikāṇḍa, is again subdivided into eight chapters, viz.:

- 1. Bijotpattisūtrīyādhyāya (बीजोत्पत्तिसूत्रीयाध्यायः)
- 2. Bhūmivargādhyāya (भूमिवर्गाध्यायः)
3. Vanavargādhyāya (वनवर्गाध्यायः)
4. Vrṣāṅgasūtrīyādhyāya (वृक्षांगसूत्रीयाध्यायः)
5. Puṣpāṅgasūtrīyādhyāya (पुष्पांगसूत्रीयाध्यायः)
6. Phalāṅgasūtrīyādhyāya (फलांगसूत्रीयाध्यायः)
7. Aṣṭāṅgasūtrīyādhyāya (अष्टांगसूत्रीयाध्यायः)
8. Dvigaṇīyādhyāya (द्विगणीयाध्यायः)

In the first chapter is narrated the genesis of the Science. It is said that in the Chaitraratha Forest (चैत्ररथवनम्) the Ṛṣis headed by Bharadvāja assembled in a Conference and asked Maṇṛṣi Parāśara to give an account of the herbs and plants that were beneficial to the mankind. Being thus requested Parāśara addressed the Congregation in the following words: 'Today I will narrate before you the Vrṣāyurveda, a subsidiary branch of the Atharvaveda, which is a direct revelation of Brahma.² O Ṛṣis, please give ear to it.' Thus precluded the subject-matter of the Vrṣāyurveda, or

¹ The reader is referred to an article of the author entitled 'Identification of Indigenous Drugs' in *Ind. Jour. Phar.*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1943, to have a thorough idea as to the importance of the ancient Hindu Botany in the field of identification of indigenous medicinal plants.

² Text—

वने चैत्ररथे रम्ये समेताः पुण्यकर्मणः ॥ २

भरद्वाजादयः सर्वे ये ज्ञान्ये मुनिसत्तमाः ।

ज्ञातुमिच्छन्तः पप्रच्छुः पराशरं महर्षयः ॥

पृष्टेन मुनिभिः सर्वैः पराशरोज्ज्वलीततः ।

अथवागं प्रवक्ष्यामि ब्रह्मोक्तं वृक्षवैद्यकम् ॥

Vrṣāyurveda, Bijotpattikāṇḍa, Ch. I.

the Science of Plants and Plant-life, was told to the assemblage in *ajra* (सूत्र, i.e. in synopsis).

In dealing with the subject-matter of this chapter Parāśara started with the genesis of the first organic body (आदिबीजम्) in the following śloka: आपो हि कललं भुत्वा यत् पिण्डस्यानुकं भवेत् तदेवं व्युद्गमानत् तत् बीजत्वमिति गच्छति । which may be translated thus: water transforms into a *jelly-like substance* (कललम्), in which a *nucleus* (पिण्डस्यानुकम्) is formed, which in course of time *being regulated by terrestrial energies* (व्युद्गमानत्) is converted into a *germ* (बीजत्वम्).¹ Here we find a clue to the answer of the longstanding problem, namely, the origin of the first organic body, the protoplasm containing a nucleus (life) on the earth. That the same question was also in the minds of the ancients is further supported by the fact that references to this very problem are found in the non-scientific texts, such as, the Vedas, Upaniṣads, etc.²

¹ In this translation the words in italics are the rendering of the Sanskrit words by Vaidyasastrī J. N. Sircar, the discoverer of the manuscript.

² (i) आपयव कललौभूतं भवति पिण्डं तदा सञ्जायते etc.

(ii) अपामधिदैवतः सोमेन क्षिपमानो रसो यदा पिण्डं सम्पद्यते । शरीरोपनिषद् ।

In all these references water must not be taken as pure water but water with other dissolved salts in it. The view of the ancients that water is at the root of the creation of the organic world when explained in the scientific light assertively advocates the doctrine that the Organic World is purely of inorganic origin. Building up of a complex organic compound like protoplasm from simpler inorganic constituents, i.e. water with other elements dissolved in it, requires energy. This energy requirement may be supplied from various sources of physical energies, viz. heat, light, electricity, magnetism, etc. pervading the Earth. We know that water itself is capable of being ionized and of inducing ionization of dissolved substances to set up chemical reactions, and has high specific heat and heat of vaporization. So it further furnishes itself with a source of energy for the transformation of simpler inorganic substances into an organic body. Then there is the time factor which playing upon synthesis and resynthesis, oxidation and reduction, etc. must have some influence in bringing over this transformation. Again when we find things quite inorganic in nature, as for example calcium carbonate crystals in plant cells being produced by an organic body then why the analogy will not be there that things organic may also be produced from inorganic origin. As a matter of fact there is no differentiation in the properties of the constituent elements of an organic and inorganic substance. Modern science has shown the world the preparation of many organic substances from inorganic and vice versa.

One may raise the question that protoplasm is not merely an organic body but it has certain other distinct properties for which it is called a living matter. The question is quite pertinent. Creation of life means attributing certain properties which are dynamic in all its aspects (i.e. growth, movement, response to stimuli, etc.) to the matter peculiar to it but to none else, that is solely responsible for this dynamic aspect which we call 'life'. If any day scientists can make a matter exact in composition to protoplasm then that thing will also have the characteristics of life, and that will be nothing but protoplasm. Science tells us that protoplasm is a most complex unstable substance whose exact composition in the living state is not known. In the universe all stable substances are static. Dynamic nature of the matter is nothing but the different phases of its unstableness while passing through various changes. Likewise the protoplasm which undergoes various changes throughout its life-cycle, and the result of these sum total changes which we may call the manifestation of life factor of matter must be unstable. It is the property of matter ingrained in it which is responsible for such functions.

So we may sum up our views by saying that protoplasm is nothing but an organized colloidal system of matter (कललौभूतम्) quite possible to be formed out of inorganic matter, i.e. water with other dissolved substances in it, and in that case the transformation being effected by various energy factors playing upon it, the final result is being attained with certain dynamic properties which we call 'life'. This is exactly what Parāśara said with regard to the origin of the *ādibijam*.

In the Vrṣāyurveda cotyledons are termed *bijamāṭṛkā* (बीजमाटका) and seeds having two cotyledons, *dvimāṭṛkabija* (द्विमाटकबीज) and one cotyledon, *ekamāṭṛkabija* (एकमाटकबीज): These two terms are used in the description of the seedlings when they come out with one or two cotyledons (leaves) respectively. By the term *bijamāṭṛkā* Parāśara really means endosperm in the seed (बीजमाटका तु बीजप्रस्थम्), and the first leaf, or the *ādibijapatra* (cotyledon) is enclosed by it (बीजमाटकायामध्यस्थमादिपत्रम्). As in the animate world the mother supplies food materials and nourishment to the embryo, likewise the cotyledons do for the embryonic plant while in the seed and early stages of germination. So from the function of the cotyledons which is primarily concerned with the nursing and feeding of the embryonic plant the term *bijamāṭṛkā* appears quite scientific and significant as the term *pādapa* for the plant in general (see footnote No. 1 in page 130 for the text).

Parāśara then discoursed upon the morphology of plant members (वृक्षाङ्गानि), viz. *patram* (leaves), *puṣpam* (flowers), *phalam* (fruits), *mūlam* (roots), *trak* (cortex including vascular bundles), *kāṇḍam* (stem), *sāram* (heartwood), *svarasam* (sap), *niryās* (excretions), *kaṇṭakam* (spines and prickles), *bijam* (seeds) and *praroḥam* (shoots). He also remarked that from the resemblances and differences in the characters of these plant members the classification of plants were possible. (See footnote No. 1 in p. 132.)

The second chapter, Bhūmivargādhyāya, deals with the soil. It is mentioned here that the adaptability or growing capacity of a plant depends upon the nature and properties of the soil.

In the third chapter, Vanavargādhyāya, names, descriptions and distributions of forests in India are given. They are: Chaitraratha-vanam, kâlaka-vanam, kirâta-vanam, pañchanada-vanam, prâchya-vanam, vedikârûṣaka-vanam, âṅgireya-vanam, kalingaka-vanam, dâśârṇaka-vanam, aparânta-vanam, saurâṣṭra-vanam, etc.¹

¹ Text:

वनं चैत्ररथं रम्यं मानससरःशोभितम् ॥

ततश्च प्रतीचिदेशे कालकं वनमुच्यते ॥

प्राक्देशे किरातश्चैव क्लादिनीश्राविते स्थितम् ॥

त्रयमेतत् महारण्यं हिमाद्रिश्शिखराश्रितम् ॥

सिन्धुसागरसंगमात् हिमालयकृतावधि ॥

कालञ्जरे कुषचेवे वनं पाञ्चनदं स्मृतम् ॥

गंगासंगमप्रयागहिमाद्रिनाञ्च मध्यतः ।

वनं प्राच्यमिति ज्ञेयं मध्यमं परिकीर्तितम् ॥

त्रिपुरकोशलादौ च वेदिकारुषकं वनम् ॥

उत्कले वंगे चांगिरियं वनं स्मृतम् ॥

विन्ध्याद्रिचिचकुटाद्रि कलिगं द्राविडाश्रितम् ।

वनं कालिंगकं ज्ञेयं समुद्रावधि कीर्त्यते ॥

औशैले वेदेशैले च मलेयादौ तथैव च ।

गन्धसारो भवेत् यत्र दशार्णकं तदुच्यते ॥

सद्माद्रिभृगुकच्छान्तमपरान्तं वनं स्मृतम् ॥

[Contd. on next page.]

The fourth chapter, *Vṛkṣāṅgasūtrīyādhyāya*, deals in sūtras the morphology of plants. Leaves have been dealt with more elaborately both as to their morphology and physiology. It seems quite surprising that Parāśara knew that the green leaves took up air, heat, light and some colorific principles for the healthy growth of the plant (पत्राणि तु वृतातपरञ्जकारि अभिगृह्णन्ति).¹

The insertion of leaves (वृन्तबन्धनम्) and the phyllotaxis (पत्रबन्धनम्) with definitions and descriptions of various types have been dealt with very exhaustively. Different form of leaves according to their shape have been named after articles of common use, or after the names of common animals, or their particular limbs, such as, *juhāparṇa* (जुहपर्य) — leaves (blades) having the shape of a laddle used in ancient Vedic rites of offering ghee to the sacred fire, e.g., leaves of Banyan; *maṇḍukaparnā* for the leaves of *Hydrocotyle asiatica*, and so on.

According to the nature of venation (सिरासन्निवेश) ² leaves have been classified into two groups, viz.: (1) *mouñja-parṇa* (मौञ्जपर्य) in which the veins are stated to run more or less parallel to one another, and the venation is called *praguṇa* (प्रगुण), i.e. parallel; and (2) *jālika-parṇa* (जालिकपर्य) in which the veins are arranged reticulately, and the venation is termed *vellita* (वेलित), i.e. reticulate. Parāśara says that *praguṇa* and *vellita* venations are characteristic features of the monocotyledons (एकमाटकबीज), and dicotyledons (दिमाटकबीज) respectively.

The fifth chapter, *Puṣpāṅgasūtrīyādhyāya*, deals with the flower and its different organs and their functions. According to the formation of the *sthālakam* (thalamus) and its relations with the insertions of the floral leaves, particularly of the *bījādhāram* (gynæceum) flowers have been classified into four distinct types under the headings: *Puṣpamaṇḍala*. They are:

अवन्यां दारवत्यां च सौराष्ट्रवनमुच्यते ॥

एवमुक्तानि वनानि प्रकृत्या स्थानभेदतः ॥

एतैर्भूम्यनुभावैस्तु दृक्षाणां प्रकृतिर्भवेत् ।

यथर्तुकालवैगुण्यात्तदेव चिन्त्यथा स्मृता ॥

(दृ: आ: वी: का:)

¹ According to Hindu concept all colorific matter (रञ्जक, वर्णात्मक पदार्थ) is *taijasik* (तैजसिक), i.e. pertaining to solar energy (see also footnote 3 in p. 131.)

औष्ण्यं वर्षं पत्रक्षेति तैजसात्मकानि । १४ ॥

(वो: का:, दि: ग: क:)

² Texts:

पत्रसिरा तु पत्रे रेखांकितेन दृष्टवती रसवद्वा च । पत्रे सिरानां सन्निवेशं द्विविधं भवति । प्रगुणं वेलितञ्च । तत्र प्रगुणमृज्जुक्रमेण यत् संस्थानम् । वेलितन्तु वक्रेण वा संकुलेन जातवत् यत् संस्थानम् । प्रगुणेन मौञ्जपत्रं वेलितेन तु जालिकपत्रं संज्ञयिते ॥

(दृ: आ:, वी: का:)

खलु दृष्टवत्यासु मौञ्जपर्यमेकमाटकं चण्डकं फलवत्कलञ्च भवति ।

दृ: आ:, वन: काण्ड, दृष्टवर्गाध्यायः ।

tundapuspamaṇḍala, *kumbhapuṣpamaṇḍala*, *tuṅgapuṣpamaṇḍala*, and *vātyapuṣpamaṇḍala*.¹

Flowers of *tundapuspamaṇḍala* are typical inasmuch as they are being formed of stamens, petals and sepals placed below the gynæceum, and the flower is described as *puspakrānta-bījādhāra*, equivalent to the hypogynous flower.

Flowers of *kumbhapuṣpamaṇḍala* are similarly formed of sepals, petals and stamens inserted on the gynæceum and the flower is described as *puspaśiṣaka-bījādhāra*, i.e. epigynous flower. In *tuṅgapuṣpamaṇḍala* the gynæceum is formed in the middle of the thalamus disc (कुण्डस्थालक), and the stamens, petals and sepals surround the rim of the thalamus, and the flower is called *sthālakotsaṅga*, i.e. perigynous flower. The fourth type *vātyapuṣpamaṇḍala*, is a special type quite different from the foregoing. In this type the stamens unite in a tube which fuses with the bases of the petals at the junction of the ovary and the style as it were an organ whose likeness may be compared with an *ulukhala* (उलुखल), a kind of wooden rice husking implement, to cover the ovary, and obviously the stamens here appear inserted on the latter (पुष्पशीर्षक). Flowers of the Malvaceae family are given as examples of this type. Parāśara named the whole family of Malvaceae on this character alone and named the family *Vātyāpuṣpagana*.

Besides the above four types which are based on the position of the gynæceum in relation to the thalamus and other floral organs, there are two more types based on the formation of the corolla, viz. (1) *kuṇḍapuspamaṇḍala*, and (2) *miśrapuṣpamaṇḍala*. Flowers of *Ipomoeia speciosa* are given as examples of the former.

The sixth chapter, *Phalāṅgasūtrīyādhyāya*, deals with fruits. Definition, function and classification of fruits according to their manifold peculiarities of form and structure have been discussed quite elaborately in this chapter.

In the seventh chapter, *Aṣṭāṅgasūtrīyādhyāya*, the description of roots, stems, cortex, heartwood, sap or juice, excretions, oleaginous products (क्षेहम्) and spines and prickles, known collectively as *aṣṭāṅga* (eight plant products) have been described quite exhaustively.

The eighth chapter or the last chapter of the *Bijotpattikanda*, the *Dviganīyasūtrīyādhyāya*, deals with the seeds and the embryonic plants (प्ररोहम्). Seeds have been classified according to the number of cotyledons into two groups, namely, *ekamātrkābīja* (seeds having one cotyledon,

1 Texts:

अथ बीजाधारयज्ञनेन पुष्पमण्डलं चतुर्विधं भवति । तद्यथा तुन्दमण्डलं कुम्भमण्डलं तुंगमण्डलं वाय्वमण्डलञ्चेति । तत्र तुन्दमण्डलगणीयस्य दलकेशरास बीजाधारनिम्ने सन्निविष्टं भवति तस्मात् पुष्पक्रान्तबीजाधारो भवति । कुम्भमण्डलगणीयस्य दलकेशरासु बीजाधारशीर्षे सन्निविष्टं भवति तस्मात् पुष्पशीर्षबीजाधारो भवति । एतदेव युक्तमुक्तदलाभ्यान् द्विविधम् । तुंगमण्डलगणीयस्य कुण्डस्थालकस्योपरि जालकदलौत्संगकेशरैश्च हृत्तमण्डलेन विराटं संवेष्टयेत् बीजाधारश्च स्थालकोत्संगं भवति । वाय्वमण्डलगणीयस्य बीजाधारवराटकयोः संगमे तूलुखल-सदृशसदृशदलकेशरैश्च नलकाकारेण बीजाधारमावृतं भवति तस्माद्वराटोत्संगकेशरास भवति, चैव संवृतबीजाधारश्चेति ।

(टः आः, बीः काः पुष्पांगभूबीयाध्याय)

monocotyledonous), and *dvimātrkābija* (with two cotyledons, dicotyledonous). The seedlings grown out of these seeds have also been described.¹

As a matter of fact the whole of the Bijotpattikanda is devoted to imparting a thorough knowledge regarding the general descriptive terms and their meanings, more precisely a chapter on descriptive botany, required for the general study of the life history of a plant, from germination up to its seed formation.

HISTOLOGY OF THE LEAF

It is a matter of great interest that Parāśara did not fail to discourse upon the anatomy and physiology of green leaves in his *Vṛkṣāyurveda*. This sets one to serious thinking that in those days there must have existed some instrumental help that made it possible the study of the histology and physiology of plants.²

In describing the internal structure of the leaf, Parāśara says that there are innumerable cells (रसकोष) in a leaf. They serve as the store-house of the sap (रसस्याशय आधारश्च) that has got all the elementary properties (पाञ्चभौतिकगुणः) derived from the earth (and brought to the leaves). These cells which contain colorific principles (रञ्जकयुक्तम्), i.e. chlorophyll, have got cell-wall (कलावेष्टितेन) and are of microscopic size (अणवश्च). The cell-wall is a fine membrane (सूक्ष्मपत्रका)³ transformed from

¹ Text:

(i) खलु बीजमातृकाभेदेन प्ररोहद्विविधं भवति । एकमातृकं द्विमातृकश्च । तत्रैकमातृक-प्ररोहानां प्ररोहे एकपत्रं भवति । द्विमातृकप्ररोहानानु द्विपत्रश्च ।

(ii) Bijamātrkā, Definition of—

बीजमातृका तु बीजशस्यम् । बीजपत्रन्तु बीजमातृकायामध्यस्थमादिपत्रश्च । मातृकाददन्तनुपत्रकवत् मातृकाच्छादनश्च कञ्चुकमित्याचक्षते ॥

बीजन्तु प्रकृत्या द्विविधं भवति । एकमातृकं द्विमातृकश्च । तत्रैकपत्रप्ररोहानां दृष्ट्या बीजमेकमातृकं भवति । द्विपत्रप्ररोहानानु द्विमातृकश्च ।

Bijamātrkā, Function of—

अङ्कुरनिर्गते बीजमातृकाया रसः संश्लवते प्ररोहाङ्गेषु । तेनैव रसेन प्ररोहः सिद्ध्यते वर्धते च यावन्मूलं न खतन्वदृतिः स्यात् ॥ यदा प्ररोहः स्वातन्त्र्येन भूयाः पार्थिवरसं गृह्णाति तदा बीजमातृका प्रशीषमापद्यते ।

(हः आः, वीः काः, द्विगुणीयाधाय)

² Dr. Ravivarma thinks that Charaka and his colleagues must have had some means of magnifying considerably to make invisible objects visible to the naked eye, in short some form of a microscope. Without such an aid, he asks, how could they have described the blood corpuscles? Charaka's description of the *krimis* of blood also signifies that they had some means of magnification. He says that *krimis* arise from blood (शेषितजानान्तु), are found in blood-vessels (स्थानं रक्तवाहिन्यो धमन्यः), are unicellular structures (अणवः), circular or disc like (दृष्टाः), without feet (अपादाः), invisible on account of extreme fineness (सूक्ष्मत्वाच्चे भवन्त्यदृश्याः), of coppery colour (वर्णस्ताम्रः). Charaka Samhita, Viman., ch. vii, sl. 10.

³ Text:

(i) पत्रे रसकोषसु रसस्याशयः आधारश्च । खलु दृष्टपत्रे रसकोषस्त्वपरिसंख्येयः सन्ति । कलावेष्टितेन पाञ्चभौतिकगुणसमन्वितस्य रसस्याशयश्च । एव रञ्जकयुक्तमणवश्च । तस्मात् सूक्ष्मपत्रका या भूतेषां पाकिता कललादुपजायते । आशयोऽधारश्चेति । [हः आः]

protoplasmic substance (कललादुपजायते) by the terrestrial energies (भूतोष्ण-पाचिता) acting upon it.

For the transport of the watery substances through the body of the plant there are vascular systems (सर्वस्रोतांसि). Of these transporting systems the one that carries the *rasa* (rasavahasrota—transpiration current) from the earth (पृथिव्या) to various plant members is called *syandani*¹ (स्यन्दनी), and the one that distributes it in the leaf *sirājā'āni* (सिराजालानि). Through this transporting system plants get nutrition, and growth becomes possible. These vascular systems have got both upward and downward routes (सिराभिश्चोपसर्पयन्ति अपसर्पयन्ति च).²

FUNCTION OF THE LEAF

The watery substance derived from the earth (पार्थिवरसः) is being transported from the roots to the leaves by the *syandanis*. There it is being digested with the help of chlorophyll (रज्जकेन पच्यमानात्) into nutritive substances and by-products (मलम्). The latter while excreted is being attended with the production of heat. The end product of the whole process is utilized for the growth and development of the plant.³

CLASSIFICATION OF PLANTS⁴

A few typical examples of Parasarian Classification of Plants (गण-विभाग) into Families are given here for a comparative study with modern classification. It will be seen that the key-note of this classification is based upon the study of comparative morphology of plants particularly

(ii) पत्राणि तु वातातपरज्जकानि अभिगृह्णन्ति [टः आः]।

(Physiological) (टः आः)

Patraka literally means the fine membranous sheath of garlic bulbs—a commentary by the discoverer of the manuscript.

¹ *Syandani*, etymologically स्यन्दते चनेन स्यन्दनम् means *ratha* (a chariot—conveyance). The root *syanda* indicates *gati*, movement.

² Text:

तत्र वृक्षाणां सर्वस्रोतांसि स्यन्दनी सिराजालानि निबद्धानि भवन्ति। एतेषां स्रोतसां रसवत्-स्रोतोभिः स्यन्दनीभिर्मूलात् पृथिव्या स्यन्दमाना रसाः संभवन्ते वृक्षाण्येषु। तस्मात् वृक्षाः सन्तर्पयन्ते वर्धयन्ते च। एव सिराभिश्चोपसर्पयन्ति अपसर्पयन्ति च भावाभावौ।

³ Text:

ततो मूलैर्भ्यः पार्थिवरसः स्यन्दनीभिः संभवते पत्रेषु। तत्र रज्जकेन पच्यमानात् यन्मलं निगच्छति तमुष्मा भवति। ततः पुष्यन्ति पच्यमानात् सूक्ष्मरसादस्य सर्वांगानि।

Cp. *Mahabharata*, Vanaparva, iii, where the importance of the Sun in the preparation of food by plants is clearly indicated. See also Santiparva, ch. 184, for an exposition of the elaborate processes by which plants absorb, transport and assimilate food.

—Majumdar, Vanaspati, pp. 31-32 (Calcutta University Publication). The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* mentions the power of raising up of water and its circulation in the body as one of the fundamental properties of living plants. (See Vanaspati, by Majumdar.)

⁴ For Texts, see Appendix I.

of the floral characters, their resemblances and differences.¹ Only a few families with their diagnostic characters are mentioned here.

1. Samīgaṇīyam (समीगणीयम्)

(Family—*Leguminosae*)

Flowers of Samīgaṇa are generally hypogynous (पुष्पक्रान्तबीजाधार) with five free petals of different sizes and a gamosepalous calyx; andrœcium of ten stamens. The fruit *simbiphalam* (सिम्बिफलम्), i.e. the legume, is formed of ripened ovary with seeds arranged on a side (पार्श्वबीजा). The whole family is subdivided into three sub-families on the basis of floral characters into those with *Vakra-puṣpam*, *Vikarnika-puṣpam* and *Suka-puṣpam*.

Parāśara mentions *Samīvrkṣa* as a plant that bears *simbiphalam*,² i.e. a legume or pod; he describes the plant as having leaves borne on a common stalk, i.e. rachis (मादि), such leaves being called *simbiparna* (सिम्बिपर्ण), a compound leaf, the leaf-lets arranged on the rachis like a feather (पुंखपर्ण), i.e. pinnate; flowers open by day (रविकान्ता) as opposed to *chandrakāntā*. These plants grow in *Jāṅgala* region where the soil contains less water. Then he gives the following characters of the three sub-families:

1. *Vakra-puṣpam*.—Flowers hypogynous (तुन्दमण्डल), petals and stamens are of unequal numbers, gamosepalous calyx of 5 sepals, petals 5, irregular in size (विषमदल) obliquely inserted, free; stamens 10, 9 united, 1 free; fruits are *simbiphalam*, having seeds on one side of the fruit (पार्श्वबीजसमन्वितम्). Cp. *Papilionaceae*.
2. *Vikarnika-puṣpam*.—Flowers hypogynous, petals and stamens of unequal numbers, sepals 5, gamosepalous, petals free but irregular, all the 10 stamens are free, rarely 5; fruit, *simbiphalam*. Cp. *Caesalpineae*.
3. *Suka-puṣpam*.—Flowers with hairy petals and stamens. Cp. *Mimosoideae*.

2. Puplikagaṇīyam (पुप्लिकगणीयम्)

(Family—*Rutaceae*)

Distinguishing characters of this family are: Petals and stamens are free and unequal in number (विषमदल), flowers hypogynous (तुन्दमण्डल), sepals and petals 5 in number each, stamens numerous, anther inserted by its end (किञ्जल्कप्रान्तग्रथिकम्), pistil multilocular (विभक्तवराटकम्), fruit wall entire (अखण्डफलवल्कलम्), i.e. indehiscent, the fruit is formed of

¹ Text:

अग्रेष्वेतैश्च दृक्चवल्लीगुल्मानां साधर्म्यं वैधर्म्यं तुल्यातुल्यप्रकृतिमभिसमीक्ष्य गणविभागमुपदिश्यामः
दृः आः, बीः काः, दृक्चवल्ली।

² *Simbiphalam* is thus defined: पार्श्वबीजैः समि स्मृतः। आदीर्घेन द्विपार्श्वेन सन्वितः सिम्बिवल्कलम्. It means that the fruit has got seeds arranged on the side where the two wings meet, i.e. along the ventral suture: आदीर्घेन द्विपार्श्वेन सन्वितम्।

multilocular superior ovary (पुष्पक्रान्तफलम्) The flesh (फलशस्यम्) consists of hairy succulent bodies (शस्यश्च केशरनिभम्) constituting into numerous divisible cells (बहुपुष्पिकैः विभक्तम्), the latter contain many seeds in them. Flowering time is spring (मञ्जरौ माघवोद्धवा).

Plants of this family have got spines (किलकम्), odoriferous leaves (गन्धपर्णानाम्), and winged petioles (वृन्तपद्म). The family is subdivided into two groups on the variety of fruits they bear, viz. (1) *keśarakam* (केशरकम्), and (2) *māluraphalam* (मालुरफलम्). The flesh of the former is composed of hairy succulent bodies (केशरनिभम्), and the latter has got thick pulpy flesh (फलशस्यश्च संहतश्च घनम्). All citrus fruits belong to the former group, and Vilva (*Aegle marmelos*) and Kapittha (*Feronia elephantum*), to the latter group.

3. Svastikāgaṇīyam (स्वस्तिकागणौयम्)

(Family—Cruciferae)

Flowers with superior ovary (तुन्दमण्डल), inflorescence is formed of flowers arranged in rows (पंक्तिमेण). The calyx (जालक) which is caducous (पुष्पान्त) looks like a *svastikā* (hence the name of the family) and consists of free sepals, corolla of 4 free petals, stamens are free and 6 in number, 2 of them shorter (द्वौ खर्वकेशरौ). The two carpels are united to form into a two locular fruit (द्विपुटम्). The fruit wall is sutured and looks like a leguminous fruit (सदृशं समिफलेन सन्धितम् फलवल्कलम्).

4. Tripuṣagaṇīyam (त्रिपुषगणौयम्)

(Family—Cucurbitaceae)

Flowers are epigynous (कुम्भमण्डल); flowers are sometimes unisexual (निष्कलपुष्पम्) borne on inflorescence of different kinds (मिश्रवल्करिका), and sometimes formed in the axils of leaves; sepals 5, petals 5, united; stamens 3 in number, style with three heads (त्रिशीर्षवराटेन), i.e. stigma 3; ovary trilocular (त्रिवर्तकैः) with three rows of ovules (त्रिपुषैः) which develop into innumerable seeds.

5. Mallikāgaṇīyam (मल्लिकागणौयम्)

(Family—Apocynaceae)

In this family the inflorescence is of mixed type (संकुल मञ्जरि); leaves are usually opposite and decussate (अरापक्ष पंक्तिवृन्ता) like spokes of a wheel; latex present (सञ्जीरा); flowers are hermaphrodite (समांगा), calyx and corolla both united; and 5 in number each; stamens 5, epipetalous (अद्यत्तकेशर); carpels 2, united (वराटद्वययुक्ता). The fruit is a follicle of

two chambers (युग्मफला) which dehiscence longitudinally (चास्फोटा). The seeds have got tufts of long fine hairs (तुलपुच्छसमन्विता).

6. Kurchapuspaganiyam (कुर्चपुष्पगणायम्)

(Family—Compositae)

Flowers are sessile (वृन्तं नास्ति) and assembled on a typical common mother axis or receptacle (कुण्डल्यालक), and are being surrounded by a common calyx (involucre—एकजालकेन वेष्टितानि). This special type of the assemblage of flowers looks like bristles on a brush head (कुर्चाकार), hence called Kurchapuspakam (कुर्चपुष्पकम्). The flowers of this family have got inferior ovary (पुष्पशीर्षकबीजाधार).

CONCLUSIONS

We now close this note with the hope that when the whole work is edited, translated and published, and reviewed with no bias that sways the mind for attaching any undue importance to anything ancient, it will excite the admiration for the author of the Vṛkṣâyurveda who could compose such a great work at such a remote antiquity far distant from the era of the birth of the present day scientific world.

A short glossary of the important technical terms used in this manuscript with their English equivalents is appended at the end of this article.¹

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I must express here that I am greatly indebted to Prof. G. P. Majumdar, M.Sc., Ph.D., F.N.I., for valuable suggestions and criticism, for his assistance in editing the manuscript. Indeed, I cannot adequately express to Prof. Majumdar my appreciation and thanks for his constant encouragement and unselfish spirit that enabled me to bring out this article.

APPENDIX I

Sanskrit texts of Families cited in the Appendix

समीगणीयम् = Leguminosae.

समी तु तुन्दमण्डला विषमविदला स्मृता ।
पंचसुतदलैश्चैव युक्तजालककर्णितैः ॥
दशभिः केशरैर्विद्यात् समिपुष्पस्य लक्षणम् ।
समी सिम्बिफला ज्ञेया पार्श्वबीजा भवेत् च सा ॥
वक्रं विकर्णिकपुष्पं प्रकाश्यपुष्पमेव च ।
एतैश्च पुष्पभेदैस्तु भिद्यन्ते समिजातयः ॥

(बीः काः, पुष्पांगसूत्रबीयाध्यायः)

सिम्बिफलातः समिवर्गाध्यायं व्याख्यास्याम इत्याह पराशरः ।
समिष्टचान् प्रख्यामि येषां सिम्बिफलं भवेत् ।
सिम्बिपर्षं कचित्तेषां पुंस्त्वर्णं तथैव च ॥

¹ See Appendix II.

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माडिपर्णं भवेच्चैव रविकान्ता सभिः स्मृता ।
 दमे तु सभिष्टत्ताय प्रायशो जांगलोदुभवाः ॥
 समीनां त्रिविधो भेदो यदुक्तं पुष्पसूत्रौये ।
 दृष्टान्तेन समुद्दिष्टमिह यत् यस्य लक्षणम् ॥
 वक्रपुष्पं विकर्णिकं च शूकपुष्पं च यदुभवेत् ।
 तदेव वर्गभेदेन लिहानु वचते शृणु ॥

वक्रपुष्पम् = *Papilionatae*.

वक्रपुष्पं भवेत्तत्र विषमतुन्दमण्डलम् ।
 जालकं युक्तकर्णं च पंच भवति तत्र वै ॥
 विषमदलसंस्थानं वक्रेण पंचकर्णं भवेत् ।
 दलन्तु भवति सुतं केशरदशभिस्तथा ॥
 तेषान्तु नवयुक्तं च भवति पुष्पमण्डले ।
 सिम्बिफलं भवेत्तत्र पार्श्वबीजं समन्वितम् ॥

(e.g. पलाश, अगस्त्य, जयन्ति, etc.)

विकर्णिकपुष्पम् = *Caesalpinioideae*.

विकर्णपुष्पमण्डलं विषमतुन्दसंज्ञितम् ।
 जालकं भवति युक्तं पंचकर्णसमन्वितम् ॥
 दलन्तु भवति सुतं विषमकर्णसंस्थानैः ।
 दशभिः केशरसुतैर्भवति पुष्पलक्षणम् ॥
 पंचभिः केशरैः कचित् दृश्यते पुष्पमण्डलम् ।

(e.g. आरग्वध, काचनार, etc.)

शूकपुष्पम् = *Mimosoideae*.

शूकाकारं भवेत् पुष्पं तस्मात् शूकसंज्ञितम् ।

(e.g. शिरिष, खदिर, etc.)

(वानस्पत्यकाण्डे इयं चः)

पुष्पिकगणौयम् = *Rutaceae*.

पुष्पिकपुष्पगणौये सुतं च दलकेशरम् ।
 विषमं तुन्दमण्डलं मञ्जरिमाधवोदुभवा ॥
 जालकं पंच विज्ञेयं दलं चैव तथा भवेत् ।
 केशरैर्वज्रभिश्चैव किञ्चल्यं प्रान्तग्रन्थिकम् ॥
 विभक्तं वराटं चैव शीर्षन्तु वज्रकर्षितम् ।
 अखण्डं फलवल्कलं शस्यं च केशरनिभम् ॥
 पुष्पक्रान्तं फलं शस्यं विभक्तं वज्रपुष्पिकैः ।
 दृश्यन्ते वज्रवीजानि पुष्पिकान्तर्गतेन च ॥
 एतानि लक्षणानि भवन्ति पुष्पमण्डले ॥

(वीः काः, पुष्पांगसूत्रौयाध्यायः)

कौलकगन्धपर्णानां दृष्टाणामुपपत्तानाम् ।
 दृश्यते पुष्पिकपुष्पं तेषां नाम विवक्ष्यते ॥
 द्विविधं भवति भेदं फलभेदेन पुष्पिकम् ।
 कस्याचित् फलशस्यन्त दृश्यते केशरनिभम् ॥

कस्यचित् फलशस्यं च संचतं च घनं भवेत् ।
 आद्यं केशरकं ज्ञेयं द्वितीयं मालुरफलम् ॥
 मातुलुंगनागरंगजम्बिरनिम्बकादयः ।
 भवन्ति पुष्पिकपुष्पं केशरकं फलं च तत् ॥
 मालुरं भवति विल्वः कपित्थश्च तथैव च ।
 मातुलुंगं बीजपुरं प्रथकं चास्य बीजकम् ॥
 नागरंगं मधुरं च सुरंगं खर्णवल्कलम् ।
 जम्बिरं दन्तद्वर्षकं चात्यस्तं सुखशोधकम् ॥
 निम्बकं क्षुद्रजम्बिरं सुगन्धं सुखरोचकम् ।
 विल्वं च यौफलं प्रोक्तं मालुरं च महाफलम् ॥
 त्रिपर्णं गन्धपर्णं च गन्धफलं च शल्यकम् ।
 कपित्थदधिफलं च मालुरं सुरभिच्छदः ॥

(वानस्पत्यकाण्ड, १ म भा.)

खस्तिकागणौयम् = *Crucifereae*.

अथातः खस्तिकपुष्पं वक्ष्यामि सर्वलक्षणैः ।
 खस्तिकं तुन्दमण्डलं वल्लयां पंक्तिबन्धनम् ॥
 जालकं खस्तिकाकारं पुष्पानां सुक्तमेव च ।
 चतुर्दलं च सुक्तं च षड्सुक्तकेशरान्वितम् ॥
 तेषां द्वौ खर्वकेशरौ भवतः पुष्पमण्डले ।
 युग्मं वराटकं युक्तं फलं च द्विपुटं भवेत् ॥
 सदृशं समिफलेन सन्धितं फलवल्कलम् ।
 एतैश्च लक्षणैर्विद्यात् खस्तिकपुष्पमण्डलम् ॥

(बीः काः, पुष्पांगसूत्रीयाध्याय)

त्रिपुपगणौयम् = *Cucurbitaceae*.

ततश्च त्रिपुपपुष्पं वक्ष्यामि पूर्णलक्षणैः ।
 त्रिपुपं कुम्भमण्डलं निष्फलं चापि दृश्यते ॥
 प्राथमः कुक्षिपुष्पं च मिश्रवल्लरिका क्वाचित् ।
 जालकं च दलं चैव युक्तं च पंच कर्णितम् ॥
 त्रिशीर्षेल्लिभिः केशरैस्त्रिशीर्षवराटेन च ।
 त्रिभिः पुष्पैस्त्रिवर्तकैः पुष्पां चास्य विशिष्यते ॥
 बज्रलघुयुक्तबौजं दृश्यते त्रिपुपफले ।

(बीः काः, पुष्पांगसूत्रीयाध्याय)

मल्लिकागणौयम् = *Apocynaceae*.

मल्लिका कुण्डमण्डला संकुलापचमञ्जरिः ।
 अरापचपंक्तिवन्ता समांगा सचीरा स्मृता ॥
 जालकं युक्तकर्णं च पंच भवति तत्र वै ।
 पंचयुक्तदलं चैवायत्तकेशरपंचभिः ॥
 वराटद्वययुक्ता च युग्मफला भवेत् सा ।
 आसफोटा बज्रबीजा वा तुलपुष्पसमन्विता ॥

(बीः काः, पुष्पांगसूत्रीयाध्याय)

कुर्चपुष्पणीयम् = Compositeae.

केषांचित् वल्लरिपुष्पाणां दन्तं नास्ति । तानि पुष्पाणि वल्लरि खल्वेकजालकेन वेष्टितानि वल्लर्यां कुण्डल्यालकस्योपरि कुर्चाकारेण सन्निविष्टानि भवन्ति । एतानि वल्लरिपुष्पानि कुर्चसंज्ञकानि । तेषां बीजाधारस्तु पुष्पशीर्षकं च भवति । एतदेव कुर्चपुष्पं संज्ञायते ।

(बीः काः, पुष्पांगसूत्रोपाध्याय)

APPENDIX II

Glossary of important Botanical Terms

आदिबीजम् ..	..	first organic body, germ
पिण्डस्थानुकम् ..	..	nucleus
प्ररोहम् ..	..	shoot
मूलम् ..	..	root
काण्डम् ..	..	stem
पत्रम्, पर्णम् ..	..	leaf
कुसुमम्, प्रसूनम्, पुष्पम्, ..	..	flower
फलम् ..	..	fruit
बीजम् ..	..	seed
(पत्रं) पत्रम् ..	..	wings or blade or lamina; four kinds:
		1. समपत्र—two wings of the blade equal, symmetrical
		2. विषमपत्र—oblique, unequal wings, asymmetrical
		3. समकर्ण—symmetrically incised or lobed
		4. विषमकर्ण—asymmetrically incised or lobed
पत्रदन्त ..	..	petiole
दन्तपत्र ..	..	winged petiole
उपपत्र ..	..	stipule
शृङ्गान्तिक पत्र ..	..	peltate leaf
प्रात्यग्रान्तिक पत्र ..	..	petiole attached to the base of the lamina
दन्तबन्धन ..	..	attachment of the petiole to the axis (stem)
दन्तहीन पत्र ..	..	sessile leaf
पत्रबन्धन ..	..	articulation of the petiole or rachis with blade
पत्रसिरा ..	..	veins of the leaf (रसवहसिरा)
सिरासन्निवेश ..	..	venation; two kinds:
		1. प्रगुण सन्निवेश—parallel venation
		2. वेक्षित. सन्निवेश—reticulate venation
मौल्यपर्ण ..	..	leaves with parallel venation
जालिकपर्ण ..	..	leaves with reticulate venation
सादि ..	..	rachis, common stalk of leaflets
विस्तर ..	..	tendrils
पट्टिका ..	..	sheath, characteristics of monocotyledons
पत्र ..	..	bud scale, falls off as the bud unfolds—as in Banyan;
पुष्पपत्रम् ..	..	from this character Banyan is known as <i>Sringi</i>
कुटुम्ब, कलिका ..	..	bract
10 ..	..	flower bud

वक्षरि, मञ्जरि

Inflorescence; two groups:

1. सशाखवक्षरि—cymose
2. अशाखवक्षरि—racemose.

Eight kinds of inflorescence:

1. पलाशवक्षरि—raceme
2. पंक्तिमञ्जरी—corymb
3. स्तवकमञ्जरी—cyme or head
4. छत्रा—umbel
5. पुच्छवक्षरि—capitulum
6. संकुल—compound or mixed inflorescence
7. श्रोतुपुच्छिका—catkin
8. अक्षमञ्जरी—spadix

पुष्पदन्त

pedicel

स्थालक

thalamus

समांगपुष्प

regular flower

पुष्पशीर्षक बीजावार

epigynous flower

स्थालकोत्संग पुष्पम्

perigynous flower

पुष्पक्रान्तबीजाधार

hypogynous flower

जालकम्

sepals; two kinds:

1. युक्तजालक—gamosepalous
2. मुक्तजालक—polysepalous

पुष्पान्तजालक

caducous calyx

स्थिरजालक

persistent calyx, accompanies the fruit

दलम्

petals; four kinds:

1. मुक्तदलम्—polypetalous
2. युक्तदलम्—gamosepalous
3. केशरांकदलम्—epipetalous (stamen)
4. खैरदलम्—free from stamen

समदलम्

petals—zygomorphic

विषमदलम्

petals—actinomorphic

केशरम्

stamens

परागम्

pollen grains

किञ्जल्कम्

anther; two kinds:

1. प्रान्तसन्धितम्—innate and adnate
2. दृष्टसन्धितम्—dorsifixed and versatile

बीजाधार

ovary; two kinds:

1. सन्धित, विदर—apocarpus
2. असन्धित, कुक्ष—syncarpus

बीजाधारवर्तकम्

locule of the ovary; two kinds:

1. एकवर्तकम्—unilocular
2. बहुवर्तकम्—multilocular

वराटक

style

वराटकशीर्ष

stigma

मीचिक

spathe

सफलपुष्प

hermaphrodite flower

निष्पलपुष्प	..	unisexual flower; two kinds:
	..	1. मङ्गपुष्प—staminate
	..	2. त्रौपुष्प—pistillate
फलवल्कलम्	..	pericarp (of a fruit)
एकमादक बीज	..	monocotyledons
द्विमादक बीज	..	dicotyledons
बीजशस्यम्, बीजमादका	..	endosperm
आदिपत्र	..	cotyledon
त्वक्	..	cortex
स्यन्दनी	..	vascular system
सारम्	..	heartwood
खरसम्	..	sap
रसकोष	..	cell, cellular unit of leaf structure
कला	..	cell wall
रञ्जक	..	chlorophyll
मलम्	..	by-product
गणविभाग	..	classification of plants

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REVIEW OF BOOKS

BĀṄGLĀ NĀṬAKER UTPATTI O KRAMAVIKĀSH. By Prof. Manmatha Mohan Basu, M.A. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1948. Pp. 266. Rs.7 only.

Prof. Manmatha Mohan Basu who was appointed Girishchandra Ghose Lecturer for 1941 by the University of Calcutta has published his lectures in the form of a book on the growth and development of Bengali drama. Prof. Basu's competency to deal with the subject is beyond question, because of his intimate and first-hand knowledge of Calcutta Public Theatres, and that also not long after their inception. Sometimes he had been actively associated with the stage, more actively than any other educationist or historian that we know of. All this has given him an insight into the theory and practice of the art, and he has, in course of eight chapters, dealt with the origin of drama, the characteristics of the Bengali variety, the development of the Bengali dramatic form, the establishment of public theatres in modern times, the age of Girishchandra, the innovations on the modern stage, rounding up with some suggestions as to how to improve it.

Prof. Basu has instituted a comparison, sustained throughout the book, between the European and the Indian drama, and he has tried to prove that the Indian drama precedes the European in point of time. It is not easy to understand why it should be found necessary at this time of the day to establish or demolish such theories; the proper attitude must be the readiness to wait till fresh facts come to light. The author has connected the Oryan culture to Dravidian, and described the building up of the stage as mainly due to the latter. Probably this was felt necessary to link up Bengali drama to the remote paste. We feel that it might have been better left to Sanskrit scholars and historians for a correct approach and assessment so far as the Bengali characteristics go, all that is suggested is that old Bengali plays have disappeared. Certainly, no theory can be built on plays that have disappeared.

So far as the first three chapters go, we regret we cannot find any new contribution to our existing knowledge of the subject. In the next chapter, we come across the growth and rise of Calcutta, Lebedeff and the establishment of Hindu College, the first half being taken up with the growth and development of drama in Greece and England. The original of Lebedeff's Bengali play is mentioned on page 75 as an English play called *The Disguise*. But has this English original been identified? Is that the real name of the play? Prof. Basu was quite justified in naming Prasanna Kumar, Devozio and Nabin Basu in this chapter when discussing the growth of the popularity for drama, but one wonders if the name given on page 75 as Nabin 'Chandra' Basu is quite correct. Even granting that the author was cramped for space, one fails to understand why Prof. Wilson and Principal Richardson's names have not been mentioned in connection with the popularization of the drama among students and their initiation into the mysteries of English drama. Madhusudan Datt's contribution has been, of course, mentioned, but its disappearance from the stage has not been explained.

Prof. Basu as a Girish Lecturer, has rightly devoted more space to Girishchandra than to any other individual writer, considering him with special reference to his knowledge of the stage-craft, to his philosophy of

life and to his language. But the same case has not been shown in respect of Girishchandra's successors. We are told Amritalal Basu wrote about '16 or 17' plays, and Dwijendralal wrote 'a few' *rangoter* plays like *virah* (pp. 186, 208). Rabindranath Tagore has been dismissed in about 60 lines considering the poet's direct and indirect influence on his contemporaries even if his own output of dramatic literature is put aside, this is not justified. It is not a fact that in Bengal at any rate, if not in India, symbolic drama are always 'caviare to the general'. In certain aspects, Rabindranath's plays and experiments on the dramatic form have a representative character representing a changing attitude of the educated Bengali mind regarding drama, and they show, curiously enough, a tendency to swing back to our past traditions. In the concluding portion of the 7th chapter, Prof. Basu has mentioned the law regulating dramatic performances and criticized it too, recognizing its usefulness even today as a check against bad taste and communalism. One wonders why he did not mention how books like Siraj-ud-doula came to be proscribed, and how Dwijendralal's plays could not be shown on the stage since 1916 or 1917 to a large extent. It was not merely that the British Government was anti-national in its character, but the reactionary League Government in Bengal also was responsible for the deterioration.

In the last and concluding chapter, Prof. Basu discusses modern plays and means of their improvement. He has not, in this connection, mentioned Satu Sen and Prof. Sahid Suhrawardy who had returned to Bengal in the twenties of the present century with foreign experience and tried experiments in rebuilding the stage according to the spirit of modern times. Nor has Prof. Basu mentioned anywhere the services of Sachin Sengupta who has all through these years kept up the tradition of the Bengali drama. The modern play has also struck a new note in the works of Bidhayak Bhattacharyya, Manmatha Ray and Banaphul; it will not do to ignore them in a work on Bengali Drama which seeks to extend its scope to our times. The drama also finds its way to the A.I.R. programme, and consequently some institutional changes are expected to be reflected in our ideas of dramatic activity. Prof. Basu, while condemning the lack of all endeavour to hardness the youthful mind to dramatic technique, forgets to note the attempts of Bimal Ghose, the organizer of 'Manimela', who has been active in creating a stage and writing plays which would be in tune with the youthful mind. No doubt Europe and America are far in advance of us in this respect, but it is only reasonable to take stock of what we have.

As regards the suggestion that the University of Calcutta should include histrionics as a branch of academic study, we feel that just now what the University wants is consolidation more than multiplication of its courses of study. Would it not be better to leave something for extra-curriculum activity?

There is one lapse which may be noted here. On p. 229 of the book Prof. Basu mentions that it was Mr. Flaming who first introduced the cinema to Bengal when he showed a silent film in 1902, only 400 ft. long. The date mentioned must have been a mistake, as the Royal Bioscope Company under the management of Hiralal Sen and Matilal Sen was registered by 1898.

Prof. Basu's book will be read with interest by a large number of readers who are sure to profit by the perusal of a work in which he has given proof of his scholarship and experience.

F. R. SEN.

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL TOWARDS THE STUDY OF BUDDHISM: 1788-1949

By SIBADAS CHAUDHURI, Deputy Librarian, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

(Communicated by S. K. Saraswati)

I. INTRODUCTION

Sir William Jones, a newly appointed Puisne Judge of the old Supreme Court at Fort William in Bengal, landed at Calcutta in September, 1783. During his long voyage from England to India while on the Arabian Sea a train of reflections on the 'eventful histories and agreeable fictions of the Eastern World' crossed his mind and these reflections of a master of several oriental languages took shape in the institution, on the 15th January, 1784, of the Asiatic Society to investigate within the geographical limits of Asia whatever is performed by man or produced by nature. In the inaugural address delivered by Sir William Jones on the occasion he chalked out the object of the Society as 'enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences and literature of Asia' and it was agreed that 'in the infancy of the Society there ought to be no confinement, no trouble, no expense, no unnecessary formality.' It was decided to have weekly meetings for the purpose of hearing original papers read on such subjects as fall within the Society's enquiries and to invite all curious and learned men to send their valuable tracts to the Secretary for publication as *Asiatick Miscellany* towards the end of each year.

During the first few years, however, no such publications could be taken in hand. The Society having no funds of its own at the time Mr. Manuel Cantopher of the Hon. E.I. Co.'s Printing Office undertook such a publication as a private speculation and the first volume was brought out in 1788 under the title *Asiatick Researches*, instead of what the founder had contemplated. By 1797 five volumes came out and were warmly received in the literary world. They made such a name and fame that editions of it were brought out in different countries of Europe, including a pirated edition in England in 1798. The reception which the first five volumes met with induced the Society to bring out the AR on its own account from 1798. In 1829 it was decided to divide the AR into two parts: one for scientific and the other for literary communications and the plan was carried out in Vol. 17 (1832) to Vol. 20 (1839). This publication ceased after the 20th volume in 1839 and the Society formally dropped it in 1842.

The form of the AR was not suitable for short but interesting and learned communications on new and important discoveries and ideas which

Abbreviations used :

- AR—Asiatick Researches
- BI—Bibliotheca Indica
- I—Introducing India (I)
- J—Journal
- M—Memoirs
- Mon.—Monographs
- P—Proceedings.

were necessarily left out. For a time these found a place in the *Quarterly Oriental Journal*, started in 1821 by Dr. H. H. Wilson, and in the *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society*. Both the publications were, however, dropped in 1827.

Capt. J. D. Herbert's monthly journal, *Gleanings in Science*, which appeared in 1829, superseded the above two Journals. The Society gained the privilege of having the précis of its monthly proceedings, which had heretofore been preserved in manuscripts, regularly published in this Journal.

In 1830 when Capt. Herbert left Calcutta, James Prinsep took up the responsibility to continue to get out the publication in a new character and under a new name, *The Journal of the Asiatic Society*. The sanction sought for was given on the March 7, 1832, and the first issue of the Journal appeared in March, 1832, under the title of *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

Thus in its new character, it became the organ 'to give publicity to such oriental matter as the antiquarian, the linguist, the traveller and the naturalist may glean, in the ample field open to their industry in this part of the world (i.e. Asia), and as far as means would permit, to the progress of the various sciences at home, especially such as are connected in any way with Asia'. (J.-1832-Preface.)

The Government conceded the privilege of franking through the Bengal and Bombay Presidencies and Ceylon (J-I-IX), in consideration of the publication of Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton's *Statistics of Bengal* as an appendix to it. The Journal was given gratis to members for the first two years.

The frequency and regularity of its publication was a great advantage and many papers, otherwise reserved for the AR, were diverted to this Journal. Thus de facto recognition was accorded to it as an organ of the Society, which was ultimately to supersede the AR. James Prinsep left Calcutta in 1838. It was in the conduct of this Journal that the amiable and good qualities of the man were most apparent, and of most benefit to the public. His own labours were the grand stay, the glory, and the honour of the Journal. After his retirement the situation came to such a pass that at the close of 1842 the AR had to be finally dropped and the JASB was officially taken over by the Society.

The Council appointed a Sub-Committee in 1905, to consider the style, paper and design of the Society's Publication. The Committee recommended 'the establishment of a quarto publication for the larger memoirs, the residue of small papers can be conveniently published in a single Journal styled the "Journal & Proceedings" of the Society' and also 'To facilitate the system of publishing papers, and to avoid the delay often caused by reference to Council, in accordance with the standing regulations, the Committee recommended that all arrangements with regard to the publication of papers be made by a standing Publication Committee, composed of the Editors of the J. & P. and that this Committee be given the powers now resting with Council, except when the publication of a paper involves expenditure beyond the sanctioned grant.' The recommendation of the Sub-Committee was accepted. (J. & P. 1905.)

PROCEEDINGS

Ever since the inaugural meeting held on January 15, 1784, the records of every meeting are being regularly kept and these manuscript proceedings constitute invaluable documents for the history of the Society. With the institution of the Journal in 1832 précis of the proceedings were included

in the Journal and before that in the *Gleanings in Science* which started in 1829.¹

In 1865 the *Proceedings* was separated from the body of the *Journal* to contain the précis of the Society's Proceedings and short notes. At that time it was also decided, as was done in the case of AR in 1829, to divide the Journal into two distinct parts: Letters and Science.

From 1832 to date this Journal had passed two stages of its career, and entered its third in 1935.

1st Ser.: Journal: Vols. 1-74: 1832-1904.

Proceedings: Vols. 1-40: 1865-1904.

2nd (New) Ser.: J. & P.: Vols. 1-30: 1905-34.

3rd Ser.: J. (Letters) } Vols. 1-: 1935-.

(Science) }

Year Book: Vols. 1-: 1935-.

ORIENTAL PUBLICATIONS

The first scheme came from the Brethren of the Baptist Mission at Serampore for publication of Series of Sanskrit works with translations. It was considered in 1806 (P.—May 15, 1806) by the Committee of Papers and the aid and patronage were extended to the missionaries for a single work, the translation of the Rāmāyaṇa (P.—July 3, 1805). On October 7, 1807, the text of Sāṅkhya was also selected. But the patronage was withdrawn after the publication of the first three volumes of the Rāmāyaṇa and the idea was abandoned.

On July 2, 1806, the society considered a scheme prepared by Sir James Mackintosh, the President of the Literary Society of Bombay, for regular publication of Sanskrit texts and it was resolved to 'publish from time to time, as their funds will admit of it, in volumes distinct from the AR, translation of short works in the Sanskrit and other Asiatic languages, or extracts and descriptive accounts of books of greater length in those languages, which may be offered to the Society and appear deserving of publication.....and the series of vols. be entitled Bibliotheca Asiatica, or a Descriptive Catalogue of Asiatic Books, with extracts and translations'.

But the resolution was not given effect to beyond the aid granted to private individuals for oriental publications.

In the year 1835 the Government prohibited the publication of any oriental works at the expense of the fund, which had been set apart under the Charter Act of 1813 to be applied in part to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India. It was further directed that the printing of the whole of the Oriental Works¹ then in progress under the auspices of the General Committee of Public Instruction with the two exceptions, i.e. (i) Fatāwa Alamgiri, and (ii) a treatise on spherical Trigonometry (Arabic), should be immediately suspended, and printed sheets be sold as 'waste paper'.

There was a lengthy discussion in the Society on the 6th May, 1835, as to the propriety of the measure—'so unjust, unpopular and impolitic an act, which was not far outdone by the destruction of the Alexandrine Library itself'. A Special Committee was appointed with Mr. W. H. Macnaughten, Dr. W. H. Mill, Mr. James Prinsep, and Late Ram—

¹ (i) Mahābhārata. (ii) Rājataranginī. (iii) Naishada. (iv) Sausruta. (v) Saṅgīta-vidyā. (vi) Fatāwa Alamgiri. (vii) Ināya. (viii) Khāzānat ul Ilm. (ix) Jawāme ul Ilm ul Riāzi. (x) Anis ul Musharrahin. (xi) A Treatise on Algebra (in Arabic).

Kamal Sen to draw up an urgent memorial, avoiding to the utmost all controversial points. The draft memorial begging that the obnoxious order might be rescinded, was adopted *nem con* after certain improvements and was transmitted to the Governor-General in Council under the signature of the President Sir Edward Ryan.

The Government declined to accede to the Society's request, but offered to make over all the unfinished oriental works to the Asiatic Society 'willing to complete them at their own expense'. With the reply of the Government the pleasing dream had now vanished. However, the Society decided to accept the offer and proceed to complete them¹ proposing at the same time to undertake the publication of a fresh series as soon as this part of their task was accomplished. A Committee was also appointed to draw up a memorial adopting the most conciliatory and most effectual means of attaining the end, to the Court of Directors and Board of Control. It was forwarded to the Court of Directors through the local Government, in which the Society expressed their assurance that if the Court deemed it 'inexpedient to alter the appropriation of the Parliamentary Fund, which the local Government had determined upon, they would desire some other means of continuing that encouragement to the cause of Asiatic literature which reflected honour on the hand that dispensed it', and the memorial proceeds to ask for 'pecuniary aid in the expense of publishing standard and useful works in Oriental literature.'

The co-operation and patronage of European Literary Associations and friends of Oriental Literatures which were also invited, were also extended to the Society.

Prof. H. H. Wilson, then the London Agent of Society, succeeded to prevail upon the Court of Directors to concede to the prayer under certain conditions to recommend to the Government of India to appropriate funds to the preparation and publication of works on instruction in the Eastern Languages. The Fund was placed at the disposal of the Society (P.-1838-June).

But the grant thus received could not be judiciously spent in conformity with the intentions and encouragement of the Court of Directors due to the conspicuous absence of James Prinsep due to ill health which compelled him to leave for a change. But death cut him away from this world leaving his mission unfinished.

BIBLIOTHECA INDICA

In 1847 a Committee was appointed to devise ways and means to carry out the Court of Directors' wishes as to the publication of the Veda. The recommendation was sketched in a judicious minute by Mr. J. W. Laidley (December, 1847), to start a monthly serial Journal under the title *Bibliotheca Indica* and the work was taken in hand at the beginning of 1848. The Editorship of the project was entrusted to Dr. E. Roer on a salary of Rs. 100 p.m., whose principal duty was to supply English translation of the works already taken in hand.

But the project fell through before the 4 fasciculi of the Samhitā of the Rg-Veda could be published, as the news arrived that the Court of Directors had decided to get them done by Dr. Max Müller and Dr. H. H. Wilson.

At the close of 1850, the Council appointed a Sub-committee to report the expediency of introducing further changes into the management of the

¹ The works abandoned were all completed with the exception of (i) Śārirav'dya and (ii) treatise on Algebra.

publications, and acted on the recommendation 'to abolish the post of the chief editor, remuneration of editors according to the nature of the work done, and no work should be printed without so much critical apparatus as is necessary for giving an account of the MSS. made use of, their authority and age, etc.; and a résumé of the contents of the volume (J-XIX-629)'. It gave a fillip to the distinguished scholars Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dr. A. Sprenger, and J. R. Ballantyne, and several valuable works were taken in hand. But for the limited resources at the disposal of the Society, it became necessary to put a stop to the publication of the series after five years in order to pay off arrears.

Adverting to the excess of expenditure over income, the Court of Directors remarked: 'This augmented activity and enhanced expense arise especially from the great impulse given to the publications of Mohammedan literature and the Arabic language. . . . when we authorised the appropriation of a special grant to the encouragement of Indian literature, we had in view especially the literature of the Hindus, although we do not propose to exclude Mohammedan literature of local origin or interest; but we certainly did not contemplate a voluminous and costly publication . . . of the literature of Arabia and not at all that of India.

We, therefore, direct that the encouragement of such works be hereafter withheld. The publication that have been commenced may be completed.' (P.—May, August, 1856).

Similar communications were received from Dr. Wilson giving strictures upon the choice of works selected for the BI—which is becoming more of a Bibliotheca Arabica, than a Bibliotheca Indica, inconsistent with the intention of the BI, which was to furnish scholars with books to read, not to provide students with the means of learning to read them.' (August 17, 1855.)

Henceforth the Society acted upon the principles outlined by the Court of Directors. The grant for publication was now divided into two distinct parts: (i) Semitic works, and (ii) Sanskritic works. In 1868 Mr. W. Stokes, then Legal Member of the Supreme Council, who, while accepting the propriety of it, remarked that, in view of the vast extent and paramount importance of Sanskrit literature, and the little that has yet been done towards its preservation, the amount devoted to it was very small, and recommended it to be doubled. The Government approved of his suggestion and an additional amount of Rs.250 p.m. was exclusively granted for Sanskrit works.

On October 5, 1803, the Society mooted the idea 'to bring to light the treasures of Sanskrit lore buried in private libraries or collection in India.' A memorial was submitted to the Government on July 1, 1807. But the Society had to wait the arrival of the Government of Lord Lawrence who took up the idea warmly and acted upon the recommendations of Mr. W. Stokes. Thus the dream of the Society 'to furnish to the literary world as much information as is needed in particular branches of Indian knowledge', was fulfilled in the copy of the 'Notices of Sanskrit MSS. (In 15 Vols.) edited by R. L. Mitra, and H. P. Sastri'.

The Society did not only limit its efforts for the publication of Oriental works, scientific and literary works taken in hand in India always found ready support from the Society.

During the last 162 years (1788-1949), the Society fulfilled the desire of the illustrious founder of the Society and contributed to the advancement of knowledge with reference to the East, particularly India. The publications of the Society have established a reputation and the Society has hitherto admirably accomplished the purpose for which it was set on foot.

The section may be concluded with the appropriate comments made by the founder, Sir W. Jones: 'It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science, in different parts of Asia, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to Asiatic Society at Calcutta; it will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease.'

In the following pages will be found a complete up-to-date inventory of the publications of the Society bearing on the different aspects of Buddhist culture, religion, and philosophy.

Since the foundation of the Society, papers relating to the religion, culture and history of Buddhism have been published by the Society. Really interesting, illuminating and informative lectures by scholars of repute on Buddhism have been delivered in the Society and many of these have been recorded in the Journal and Proceedings of the Society.

This bibliography of the papers published by the Society between 1788-1949 has been prepared to enable the research workers and scholars to find out at a glance what treasures this Society possesses in this section.

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CALCUTTA:—Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Printed
by Norman A. Ellis, Baptist Mission Press, 41A Lower Circular Road.

JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL
LETTERS

Vol. XVI, 1950, No. 2

(Pages 143-269)

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Issued February, 1951.

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KIRĀTA-JANA-KṚTI

THE INDO-MONGOLOIDS:

THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF INDIA

By DR. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

(Received May 4th, 1950)

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KIRĀTĀVADĀNA-NĀMĀNI

AN INDO-MONGOLOID ROLL OF HONOUR

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8. The Nepal (Newār) Buddhist Scholars—Ratna-Kīrti, Vairocana, Kanaka-śrī, Pham-mthin, Jñāna-vajra, 10th-11th centuries A.D.
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11. Siddhi-narasimha-malla, King of Pātan, Builder of Krishna-temple at Pātan, distinguished ruler, 1620-1657 (?) A.D.
12. Jagajjyotir-malla, King of Bhātgāon, Patron of Arts and Letters, c. 1625
13. Bhūpatindra-malla of Bhātgāon, Patron of Arts and Letters and Architecture, 1687-1721 A.D.
14. Raṇa-malla of Kāthmāṇḍo, c. 1500 A.D.
15. Amara-malla, Son of Ratna-malla, Patron of History and the Dance, c. 1510 A.D.
16. Mahēndra-malla of Kāthmāṇḍo, c. 1560 A.D.
17. Lakṣmī-narasimha-malla of Kāthmāṇḍo, c. 1595 A.D.
18. Bhīma-malla, Minister of Lakṣmī-narasimha-malla
19. Pratāpa-malla of Kāthmāṇḍo, his Queens Rūpamati and Rājamati, 1639-1689 A.D.
20. Yoganarēndra-malla of Pātan, c. 1680-1700 A.D.
21. Bhāskara-varman, Kumāra, Bhāskara-dyuti of Kāmarūpa, c. 640 A.D.
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23. Brahma-pāla of Prāgjyōtiṣa, his Queen Kuladevi, early 11th century A.D.
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30. Su-hung-mung Svarga-Nārāyaṇa, Ahom King, 1497-1539
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32. Su-kam-pha, Ahom King, c. 1552-1603 A.D.
33. Su-seng-pha Pratāpa-Simha, Ahom King, 1603-1641 A.D.
34. Lāchit Barphukan, Ahom General, c. 1670
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36. Jayamati Kuwārī, wife of Gadādhara Simha, c. 1670 A.D.
37. Rudra-Simha Su-khrung-pha, Ahom King, 1696-1714 A.D.
38. Detsung, King of Kachar, c. 1530 A.D.
39. Viśva-Simha of Koch Bihar, c. 1520 A.D.
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45. King Dharma-māṇikya-deva of Tripurā, c. 1431-1462 A.D.
46. Comtāwā or Cantāi Durlabhēndra, Tiprā Priest and Historian, c. 1450 A.D.
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48. Caycāg, General of Dhanya-māṇikya, c. 1500 A.D.

49. Rasāṅga-mardana Nārāyaṇa, General of Dhanya-māṇikya, c. 1500 A.D.
50. Vijaya-māṇikya-deva, King of Tripura, 1529-1570 A.D.
51. Amara-māṇikya-deva, King of Tripura, 1597-1611 A.D.
52. Pakhangba, Manipur Hero King, c. 100 A.D.
53. Khamba, Meithei Hero, and Princess Thoibi of Manipur, c. 1140 A.D.
54. Kiyamba, Manipur King, c. 1500 A.D.
55. Khagemba, Manipur King, c. 1680 A.D.
56. Pamheiba, Gopāl Simha, Gharib-nawāz, Manipur King, 1709-1748 A.D.
57. Bhāgya-candra Jaya-simha Moramba, Manipur King, c. 1780 A.D.
58. Gambhira-simha, Manipur King, c. 1830 A.D.
59. Parvata-rāy, Jaintia King, c. 1500 A.D.
60. Rāma-simha, Jaintia King, c. 1500 A.D.

1. INDIA AS A MEETING PLACE OF RACES, LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Rabindranath Tagore, in one of his great poems, has sung of India as the Ocean where Humanity in all its diversity has merged and united. He says:¹ 'No one knows at whose call so many streams of men flowed in resistless tides from places unknown and were lost in one sea: here Aryan and non-Aryan, Dravidian, Chinese, the bands of the Sakas and Hunas, and Pathan and Mogul, have become combined in one body: the door to the West has also been opened, and they bring presents from there: they will give and they will take, they will unite and be united, and will never go away,—in this ocean-shore of the Great Humanity of Bhārata or India.' This poem, *Bhārata-tīrtha* or 'the Sacred Waters of India', sums up in noble poetic language the main trend of India's history in the past and of India's destiny in the future—how there has been a synthesis of races and cultures in the past leading to the creation and characterization of a composite Indian people and a composite Indian civilization, diverse in its origin but united in its ideals and aspirations—ideals and aspirations which are acceptable to all mankind; and how India looks forward to a still greater unification of all mankind, both within her shores and outside.

2. THE MANY RACIAL AND LINGUISTIC ELEMENTS BEHIND THE UNITY OF INDIA

As a matter of fact, from time immemorial peoples of different races and languages and cultures have come to India, and after an initial period of hostile contact in some cases, finally settled down for a peaceful commingling and cultural as well as racial fusion with their predecessors in the land. There have been occasional clashes of interests and ideals or of attitudes which are ultimately based on or linked up with the desire to wield power and control self—on the political and economic factors. But on the whole, after the bases of an Indian civilisation were laid some 3,000 years ago by the fusion of the culture-worlds of the speakers of the Austro, the Dravidian and the Aryan languages, there has been a continuous and a general enrichment of this civilisation and extension of it century by century through the arrival of later incomers. The Negrito or Negroid, the Proto-Australoid or Austric, the 'Dravidian', the 'Aryan', and the Mongoloid

¹ Kōha nāhi jāne, kār āhwāne kato mānuṣer dhārā
durvāra srote elo kothā ha'te, samudra ha'lo hārā.
hethāy Āryya, hethā Anāryya, hethā, Drāviḍa, Cīn,
Saka-Hūna-dal Pāthān-Mogāl ek dehe ha'lo līn.
pāścīm āji khuliyāche dwār, sethā ha'te sabe āne upahār,
dibe ār nibe, milābe milibe, jābe nā phire—
Bhārataf mahā-mānāver sāgara-tīre.

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peoples of pre-historic times started the trend or movement of Indian history which was taken up by the Assyrian and the Elamite invaders, by the Medes and the Persian, the Macedonian and the Greek, the Syrian and the Phoenician, the Śakas and the Kushāra, the later Iranians, the Huns and the early Turks, the Islamised Arabs, the later Islamised Turks and Iranians, the Afghans and the 'Moguls', and subsequently by the peoples of modern Europe—the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English. All these have contributed to the formation of the great body of Humanity that is India, forming a fifth of the human race, and to the creation of a mentality and a culture to which nearly half of mankind owes allegiance or from which it finds inspiration. An Indian person, who has a right perception of his country's past and its achievement and heritage, which are derived from so many races and nations and mentalities and cultures which are all stamped with the stamp of India, cannot but feel that he is more truly cosmopolitan or international than representatives of most other peoples.

3. 'UNITY IN DIVERSITY'—THE BASIC CHARACTER OF INDIAN CULTURE AS A COMPOSITE

The *Unity in Diversity* that is so characteristic of Indian civilisation presents as its own consequence a *Harmony of Contrasts*—the harmony being based more or less on the following matters: a sense of Unity of all Life as the expression of an Unseen Reality which is both immanent and transcendent; a Desire for Synthesis, to combine apparently disconnected or discordant fragments in life as well as experience in their proper place in an Essential Unity; a rigid Adherence to the Intellect, while seeking to harmonise it in the higher plane with Emotion, with Intuition and with Mystic Perception; a Recognition of the Sufferings and Sorrows of Life, and an Attempt to go to the Root Causes of these Sufferings and Sorrows; a Feeling for the Sacredness of all Life; and, above all, a great Tolerance for all other Beliefs and Points of View. The higher thought of Hinduism in its three forms of Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism; the later expressions of Indian religion like Sikhism and the various sectarian faiths; the Sufi form of Islam as it developed in India, after taking shape in Mesopotamia and Iran and Central Asia; besides Zoroastrianism as it was established in India; and Indian Christianity in some of its aspects: these, showing the highest expressions of the human spirit through the medium of Sanskrit and other Aryan languages of India, through Tamil and other Dravidian speeches, through Persian, embody this underlying harmony.

The intermingling of different races and cultures, which took place in varying proportions and under special local conditions in the different areas of India, gave rise to certain composite types with more or less common characteristics. There are also extreme types representing the original races surviving in their purer forms where this racial fusion or mixture could not be thorough or far-reaching—sometimes owing to the lateness of contacts. But nevertheless, whether in the more or less purely 'Dravidian' area of Travancore or Cochin, or the Mongoloid (Newar) tract of the valley of Nepal, or in the Islamised, i.e., Iranian and Arabistic surroundings of Lahore and Haidarabad, there is present in a subtle form the atmosphere of a common Indian spirit which is difficult to miss when we look below the surface and which is absent elsewhere, outside India and outside the lands which in ancient and early medieval times formed part of a Greater India, like Ceylon (which is really a province of India in population and language and culture), Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Sumatra, Java, and Bati.

4. FORMATION OF AN INDIAN PEOPLE WITH ITS SANSKRIT OR
SANSKRITIC CULTURE

The thing which expresses this atmosphere of Pan-India is the Sanskrit language or a language derived from or connected with Sanskrit. Indian Culture is, in fact, *Sanskrit Culture*, or *Sanskritic Culture*. It is expressed either through Sanskrit—directly; or indirectly through Modern Indian languages of Aryan, Dravidian, Austric or Sino-Tibetan origin; or even through a highly Persianised Sanskritic language like Urdu, the Muslim form of Hindi, which may outwardly or formally ignore Sanskrit and the Sanskritic heritage.

Sanskrit in its origin is an Aryan or Indo-European language, as we all know. But in its evolution on the soil of India, the non-Aryan peoples had a share in its development—in determining its tendencies and its history, helping to change its phonetics and its grammar and to modify and add to its vocabulary. It was thus a joint product of both Aryan and non-Aryan, so that it could become by 500 B.C. the most natural vehicle of a composite Indian—Aryan-non-Aryan—culture.

5. PROGRESSIVE 'SANSKRITISATION' OF THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS IN INDIA

The subsequent history of civilisation in India is the expansion and elaboration of this Sanskrit culture and its slow but inevitable acceptance by all the various peoples of India. And this went on hand in hand with the spread of Sanskrit or Indian culture in lands outside India (Ceylon, Afghanistan and Eastern Iran; Central Asia or Serindia; Tibet, Mongolia; Indo-China including Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Cochin China; Malaya and Indonesia, which were lands of a *Greater India*; as well as China and its cultural dependencies Korea, Japan and Viet-nam). The progressive Sanskritisation of the various pre-Aryan or non-Aryan peoples in their culture, their outlook and their ways of life, forms the keynote of India through the ages. And in the course of this 'Sanskritisation' the affected peoples also brought their own spiritual and material *milieus* to bear upon the Sanskrit and Sanskritic culture which they were adopting, and thus helped to modify and to enrich it in their own circles.

This 'Sanskritisation' would appear to have been opposed by the advent of a militant Islam and an aggressive Christianity in some parts of India. But in spite of an occasional set-back, the heaven has never been inactive.

6. THE AUSTRIC AND DRAVIDIAN ELEMENTS: RESTRICTED AREA AND
INFLUENCE OF THE MONGOLOID ELEMENT

The peoples speaking Austric and Dravidian languages, through their interaction with those of Aryan speech, laid the foundations of this 'Sanskrit' or Ancient Hindu culture of India. Austric and Dravidian elements in Indian culture have been to some extent studied, and these studies are still being carried on by competent scholars. But there has never been an attempt at a general appraisal of the Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan elements in Indian culture. One of the reasons has been the rather restricted area in India over which the Mongoloid elements were at work. While the speakers of Austric and Dravidian appear to have spread over the greater part of India, the Sino-Tibetan speaking Mongoloids were confined only to a part of India, namely its Northern and North-eastern tracts, corresponding to the present-day Nepal (particularly its centre and east) North Bihar, North Bengal, East Bengal, and, above all, Assam.

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A study of the Mongoloid contribution to the development of history and culture in Eastern India (including Nepal) will certainly be regarded as an important aspect of Indology, and it has its own fascination also; and such a study is sure to reveal important aspects of Indian civilisation in some of its regions of expansion, aspects which may not be noticeable elsewhere.

7. RÉSUMÉ OF THE RACIAL ELEMENTS IN INDIA

In a study of the Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan impact on the composite culture of Hinduism in India and of its repercussions on Eastern Indian history, a brief *résumé* of the racial elements in the Indian people and of the racial history of India will be a helpful preliminary.

So far as the racial bases of the population of India have been analysed, the presence of 'six main races, with nine sub-types' has been postulated. These are (*vide* B. S. Guha, *Racial Elements in the Population*, No. 22 in 'Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs', 1944, p. 8)—

1. The Negrito.
2. The Proto-Australoid.
3. The Mongoloid, consisting of—
 - (i) The Palaeo-Mongoloids of (a) the long-headed, and (b) the broad-headed types.
 - (ii) The Tibeto-Mongoloids.
4. The Mediterranean, comprising—
 - (i) The Palaeo-Mediterranean,
 - (ii) The Mediterranean, and
 - (iii) The so-called 'Oriental' types.
5. The Western Brachycephals, consisting of—
 - (i) The Alpinoid,
 - (ii) The Dinaric, and
 - (iii) The Armenoid.
6. The Nordic.

So far, it has not yet been proved that any kind of man evolved on the soil of India—although it is not unlikely that man of a type still persisting, or, it may be, long extinct, may have originated from some kind of anthropoid ape and so may have been autochthonous to India; but we have no indication of it as yet. The chronological order of the entrance into India of peoples belonging to the races enumerated above appears to have been as indicated below.

8. THE NEGRITOS OR NEGROIDS

First, we have in pre-historic times, the arrival of the Negritos, a dwarfish Negroid, or Negro-like people, from Africa. These came to India through Arabia and the coast-lands of Iran, and they spread over the greater part of India, traces of them being found as far east as Eastern Assam among the Nagas, and remnants of them are found in South India among a few wild tribes. Negrito groups found their way into the Andaman Islands, where they are still found as a distinct people, and into Malaya Peninsula, and further to the east in Papua or New Guinea. The Negritos belonged to the eolithic stage of culture, and were food-gatherers rather than food-producers. They have to a large extent been absorbed by other peoples who followed them into India, particularly the Proto-Australoids. Their

culture was rudimentary, and their language has not survived on the soil of India. In the domain of culture, they probably had invented the bow, and evolved a cult of the *ficus* tree, and formed some belief in an after-death path to paradise which was guarded by an avenging demon; this cult of the *ficus* tree evidently was taken up by the subsequent races of India.

9. THE PROTO-AUSTRALOIDS : AUSTRIC PEOPLES

The next people to come to India after the Negritos would appear to be the Proto-Australoids—a medium-sized dolichocephalic race from the Eastern Mediterranean area, who arrived in India with a palaeolithic culture and who were food-gatherers like the Negritos, but they seem to have developed a characteristic culture in India, which included primitive agriculture with the digging stick and the hoe. In India they appear to have tamed the elephant for the first time. Totemism, and the earliest beginning of ideas which gave rise to the philosophical doctrine of transmigration and *karma* after the advent of the Aryans, were in all likelihood Proto-Australoid contributions. Very early branches of the Proto-Australoids passed out of India into Australia and Melanesia; and in India they appear to have spread over the entire country, mixing largely with the original Negritos. We are not certain about the kind of language which was in use among the Proto-Australoids, but it has been thought exceedingly likely that the speech-family known as the *Austrie* (i.e., the Southern Speech Family) was associated with the Proto-Australoids and their descendants. We might say that the Austrie people, language and culture were later phases or developments of the Proto-Australoid people and their language and culture.

The *Austrie Languages* of the present day, under which come the Kol or Munda languages of Central and North-eastern India, and Khasi of Assam, as well as Nicobarese, fall into two main groups: (1) *Austro-Asiatic*, which covers a number of speeches current in India, Burma and Indo-China, i.e., the mainland of Southern and South-eastern Asia (the Kol or Munda speeches of India like Santali, Mundari, Ho, Korku, Savara, Gadaba, etc.; Nicobarese of the Nicobar Islands; Khasi of Assam; Paloung and Wa of Burma; Mon or Talaing of South Burma and South Siam; Khmer of Cambodia; Cham of Cochin China; Stieng, Bahnar and other speeches of Indo-China; and Sakai and Semang of Malaya); and (2) *Austronesian*, which includes (a) Indonesian—Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Balinese, Sassak, the Celebes speeches, Tagalog and Visayan and other Philippine Islands speeches, and Malagasy of Madagascar; (b) Melanesian, in the islands of Melanesia, like the Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Viti or Fiji, etc.; and (c) Polynesian—Samoan, Tongan, Tahitian, Tuamotuan, Marquesan, Maori of New Zealand, Hawaiian, etc.

The original Austrie speech appears to have been characterised in India, and then it spread into Burma and Indo-China, the peninsula of Malaya and the Islands beyond, changing in the course of its migration involving so many centuries and so many thousands of miles and contact with various other peoples.

10. THE ANCIENT AUSTRICS OF INDIA: NIṢĀDAS (NISHADAS), ŚĀBARAS, PULINDAS, BHILLAS, KOLLAS

The Proto-Australoids of India, after they became modified into the Primitive Austrie-speaking people, came in touch with the Aryans after these latter had invaded India in times posterior to 1500 B.C., and the

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Aryans came to know them as *Niśādas*, as *Sabaras* and as *Puliṇḍas*, and in post-Christian times as *Bhillas* and *Kollas* (whence we have the modern Indo-Aryan names for Central Indian tribes of Austric origin—*Bhils* and *Kōls*). *Niśāda*, or *Sabara-Puliṇḍa*, or *Bhilla-Kolla* tribes gradually became Aryanised in speech in the Ganges Valley and elsewhere, and were fused with the Aryans and also with the Dravidians. The process is still continuing, in Chōṭa Nagpur and elsewhere where Austric speakers are gradually abandoning their own speech for the Aryan—Oriya, or Bengali, or some form of Bihari, or Bundeli. In this way, with the change of speech and with racial admixture with Dravidian and Aryan speakers, these Austries became transformed into the masses of the Hindu or Indian people of North India. In India from the earliest times cultural assimilation went hand in hand with a large amount of racial fusion, people of the above mentioned races with various forms of Austric, Dravidian, and Aryan speech (as well as Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan speech in Himalayan and North-eastern India) intermarrying with each other—the stronger and better-organised later comers as was natural taking to wife the daughters of the weaker earlier peoples more often than giving their own daughters in marriage to the members of a backward or supposedly 'inferior' race.

11. THE DRAVIDIAN SPEAKERS: 'DĀSA-DASYU': THEIR CONTRIBUTION

* Next in order were the Mediterraneans in their three types, who in all likelihood spoke forms of a Primitive Dravidian speech, older than the Cen-tamiz or Old Tamil of 1500 to 2000 years ago by some 2 to 3 thousand years. The Dravidian-speaking people spread from Iran to India, and they were at first known to the Aryans by two names which appear to be related, in both Iran and India, viz. *Dāsa* and *Dasyu* (in Iran, these words changed to *Daha* and *Dahyu*). The remains of a magnificent city civilisation as at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro and elsewhere in South Panjab and Sindh, with brick buildings more than one story high and underground masonry drains, and with a system of writing passing on from the pictogrammatic to the syllabic and alphabetic stages, are probably to be ascribed to these Dravidian-speakers from the Mediterranean area. Some of the fundamental things in Brahmanical Hinduism, like worship of Śiva and Umā, of Viṣṇu and Śrī, and Yoga philosophy and practice, came from these Dravidian-speakers. The Aryan-speaking invaders later conquered these Dravidian-speakers in the Panjab and Upper Gangēs Valley, and Aryan settlements took place for the first time in these tracts, and in Northern Rajputana. There appears to have been considerable settlement of Dravidian speakers in what was originally Austric terrain in the Ganges Valley. Large masses of Dravidian-speakers, like the Austries, adopted the Aryans' language, and in the process introduced a very large number of their own words into the Aryan language of their adoption. In this way we have an ever-increasing addition of Dravidian and Austric words to the stock of Aryan vocabulary, as we find in Sanskrit, in Prakrit and in the *Bhāṣā* on New Indo-Aryan languages of the present day.

12. THE WESTERN BRACHYCEPHALS

The Western Brachycephals, a race of short or broad-headed people, came from the West, like the Mediterraneans and the Nōrdics (the true Aryans). We are not certain about either the time of their arrival or the kind of language they spoke. But it has been surmised that they came after the Mediterranean peoples ('Dravidians'), and possibly along

with the Nordics ('Aryans'). In language, they had probably adopted the Nordic (Aryan) speech even before they came to India: but we are not sure in this connexion. They are predominant in Gujarat, the Maratha country and Bengal. We can with the present stage of our knowledge consider them as members of the Aryan 'language-culture' group.

13. THE ARYAN-SPEAKING NORDICS: THEIR ADVENT INTO INDIA

The Nordics, the true 'Aryans', were the last people to enter India through her western gates in pre-historic times. They were tall, fair, straight-nosed, blue-eyed and golden-haired, and they called themselves *Aryas*. The original home of these Nordics in their pre-Aryan stage of existence (as Primitive Indo-Europeans) appears to have been in the dry Eurasian highlands to the south of the Ural Mountains. Here they tamed the horse, which was their first great and original contribution to human civilisation, and they used to tend sheep and swine; but they obtained the cow from Mesopotamia after 3000 B.C., and later the goat from the Mediterranean area. They spread west and south and east, and one branch of them, the Aryans, crossed the Caucasus Mountains into Northern Mesopotamia by 2200 B.C., whence some of their tribes after wanderings spread over several centuries in Iraq, Iran and the North-western Frontier of India, finally came into India at a period not earlier than 1500 B.C.—probably nearer 1200 B.C. than 1500. They brought with them their own culture and religion, including their songs in honour of their gods, which were later on incorporated (in part at least, together with much later compositions) in the four Veda books (particularly the *Rig* and the *Atharva Vedas*, compiled in all likelihood in the 10th century B.C.). The Aryans spread with their religion and language from Western Panjab to the east, and arrived in Northern Bihar at least by 700 B.C., if not earlier. In the course of their advance to the east along the Ganges Valley, the fusion of the Aryan-speaking and the non-Aryan (Dravidian and Austric) speaking peoples was taking place; and the want of linguistic unity and cohesion among the pre-Aryan peoples of India, combined with the organising capacity of the Aryan-speakers, gave to the Aryan speech its great opportunity.

14. THE ANCIENT HINDU CIVILISATION A JOINT CREATION OF THE AUSTRICS, THE DRAVIDIANS AND THE ARYANS, AND LATER THE MONGOLOIDS

Through this racial and cultural admixture, by the time of Buddha (c. 500 B.C.) a definite and distinctive Hindu civilisation, composite in its nature and manifold in its expression, yet bearing nevertheless the common stamp of the Aryan speech and mentality and organisation, had come into being. There was an unconscious cultural miscegenation as the inevitable corollary of racial admixture: but the thought-leaders and men of action among this mixed people sought to direct the trend that their culture was to take. Thus, Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa and his younger contemporary Krishna Vāsudeva Vārshneya, personalities in the *Mahābhārata* Saga (the historical basis of which goes back to the 10th century B.C., according to F. E. Pargiter, Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri and L. D. Barnett, who arrived at the same date by totally different lines of investigation), stood at the confluence of this cultural synthesis. Vyāsa, 'the Arranger', stands at the head of Indian literature: he was credited with having compiled the four Veda books from the mass of hymns to the gods and from the ritualistic formulae and directions current orally among the priests

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of the Aryan-speaking people; and evidently he was the first to have started collecting into *Purāṇas* or 'Repositories of Ancient Lore' the current myths, legends and historical tales and genealogies, doubtless of both Aryan and non-Aryan origin. Krishna Vāsudeva's teachings (we find some reference to them in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, and the later *Bhagavad-Gītā* as a part of the *Mahābhārata* preserves a great deal of the views and teachings of the historical Krishna of the 10th century B.C.) sought to make a synthesis of the various schools of philosophy which were developing then; and he accepted non-Vedic rites (like the later Hindu rite of the *pūjā* which was very likely of Dravidian origin, in which 'leaves, flowers, fruits, water, etc.,' are offered to the divinity, in contradistinction to the Vedic Aryan rite of the *homa* in which burnt offerings consisting of the meat and fat of a slaughtered animal and barley bread and milk and butter and the spirituous drink *soma* are made to the gods) equally with Vedic ones as permissible.

The Austries, the Dravidians and the Aryans were the 'language-culture' groups which were jointly responsible, consciously or unconsciously, in the evolution of Hindu culture. The bases were largely furnished by the culture-worlds of the Austries and the Dravidians; and the synthesis and super-structure were due to the Aryan inspiration and organisation. The Aryan's, again, was the dominating voice in this cultural synthesis, at least apparently or outwardly, as it was his language (as Sanskrit and the Prakrits) which came to be accepted as its official vehicle, particularly when it became established in Northern India. The force of the Aryan's language was so great that the non-Aryan bases were, and still are largely forgotten. We generally do not give any value to the fact that Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, the father of Aryan literature in India, was a half-caste or rather a quadroon—his father was a Brahman or Aryan sage and his mother Satyawati was the daughter of a Dāsa or non-Aryan (probably Dravidian) chief whose people lived by fishing; and that Krishna Vāsudeva Vārshneya was similarly of mixed origin, his father Vasudeva was a Kshatriya prince but his mother Devakī was the sister of Kamsa, who on all accounts was a non-Aryan king of Mathura.

In this way, by 500 B.C. the Aryan speech was in full possession of the field all over Northern India from Eastern Afghanistan to the Bihar-Bengal frontier, and Hindu culture (in its original form of Brahmanism and in the later developments of Jainism and Buddhism) was on the way of its unchecked development and spread all over India, and beyond India, as the joint creation of the Austrie, Dravidian and Aryan speakers of the country: although on the surface it looked as if the Austrie and the Dravidian culture-worlds were totally suppressed by the Aryan.

15. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOUR PEOPLES, NIṢĀDA, DRĀVIDA, ĀRYA AND KIRĀTA: AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ARYAN-SPEAKERS AS A 'HERRENVOLK'

It was when the bases of the distinctive Hindu or Austrie-Dravidian-Aryan culture were being laid that another racial (or, rather, linguistic-cultural) group, the Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan, made its presence felt in the country. The Austrie-speaking *Niṣādas*, and the Dravidian-speaking *Dāsa-Dasyus*—these two groups were most in evidence throughout the greater part of India. There were, and there still are, solid *blocs* of Dravidian-speakers in Western and Southern India: and proto-Australoid (*Niṣāda*) elements are strong among them. The riverain tracts of North India were originally probably inhabited by Austro-Asiatic (Austrie-speaking) tribes. But Dravidian penetration into Austrie tracts appears to have been both

extensive and deep. The *Burushaski* speech, of unknown affinity, has been connected with the Caucasian speeches on the one hand, and with the Austric on the other; and if the latter affiliation is correct, then that would show that Kashmir and part of North-western India at any rate were also settled in by Austric speakers. In a similar way, the 'pronomin-alised' Himalayan Mongoloid speeches (like Kanawari or Kanuri, Lahali, Dhimal, Limbu, Rai, etc.) show the presence of Austric-speaking tribes in the sub-Himalayan tracts.

The Aryan-speakers were concentrated in the North-west—in North Panjab and the northern part of the North-west Frontier Province and in Eastern Afghanistan, and probably also in Kashmir. But for the other parts of India they formed a most potent leaven. There was not (except in some special cases) wholesale migrations of Aryan-speaking groups, particularly of the long-headed blue-eyed Nordic Aryans—into the different parts of India after they had settled down in what formed their *nidus* or centre of expansion in the Panjab (and probably also Western United Provinces). Their expansion would appear to have taken place in the shape of small but very powerful bands of intellectual and military aristocrats—Brahman sages and Kshatriya princes—who also relegated to themselves the functions of a ruling and guiding people, and gave the specifically Hindu or Brahmanic tone to the new culture that was taking shape and expanding over India. It has to be admitted that the rôle of a *Herrenvolk*, a controlling and leading people, has been played by certain social elements which were largely Aryan (or mixed Aryan and Dravidian) from the Panjab and North-western India in general, during the formative period of Hindu civilisation and its early expansion. The domination of the Deccan by the Indian Musalmans hailing from the Panjab and Western United Provinces, and of Muslim Eastern Bengal by Musalmans from Eastern United Provinces, during the late medieval period of Indian history, was just a continuation of a process of language-culture drift which began during the first half of the first millennium B.C.

16. THE MONGOLOID ELEMENT IN HIMALAYAN AND NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

If the Nordics (and with them the Western Brachycephals) of Aryan speech were so much in evidence in North-western India and in the Western part of the Ganges Valley, and the Dravidian-speakers were strong in Western and Southern India, and in Northern India as well, with the Austric-speakers presenting an equally important group (at least numerically) throughout the riverain tracts of North India and in the Central Indian hills and jungles, right up to the Burma frontier, and even beyond (in South Burma and Indo-China with its Austric Mon-Khmer peoples), the Mongoloids formed a most noteworthy (though culturally far less effective) element in the population of North-eastern and Eastern India. As has been said before, they were established in Assam and North and East Bengal, in North Bihar, and in sub-Himalayan India, mostly Nepal. The history of the arrival into India of the various Mongoloid groups speaking dialects of the Sino-Tibetan speech-family is not known, nor have all the various languages and dialects in the family been satisfactorily classified. It would appear that their presence in India was noted by the 10th century B.C., when the Veda books were compiled. The composite Hindu (i.e., Austric-Dravidian-Aryan, or Indo-Gangetic) civilization reached the Mongoloid peoples of Northern and North-eastern mountains and plains from about that date. Outwardly the result of their participation in the history and

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culture of India in the areas where they had established themselves has been just their assimilation and absorption, in civilisation and language, accompanied by mixture in blood with the other peoples. Where there has been no occasion or opportunity of racial intermixture with the mixed Austric-Dravidian-Aryan (or pure Aryan, pure Dravidian and pure Austric) peoples, the Mongoloid types have remained unaltered, although the language may have gone and the culture is that of the Brahmanical Hindu (or, in some cases, as for instance among the Newars of Nepal, of the Indian Buddhist of early times), with a leaven of the Indian Musalman in North and East Bengal.

17. STUDY OF THE NON-ARYAN ELEMENTS (AUSTRIC AND DRAVIDIAN) IN INDIAN CIVILISATION

In the study of the origins of the composite Hindu civilisation of ancient and medieval India, the elements contributed by the various 'language-culture' groups of diverse race—the Austric, the Dravidian and the Aryan speakers—have already attracted the attention of scholars. First the Dravidian, and then after a long number of decades the Austric elements in the Aryan language through the centuries began to be studied. From this, it was a natural corollary to deduce the various *venues* of Dravidian and Austric influence on the life, the culture and the religion of Hindu India of ancient and medieval times. Quite a number of unexpected things are coming to light through these linguistic studies proceeding hand in hand with historical, anthropological and ethnological enquiries. We are now realising how some of the fundamental things in early Indian (Hindu) life and thought are inheritances from the worlds of the Austric and the Dravidian, although they have been stated in the language of the Aryan, and have been profoundly modified in this process as well as in their evolution. The enquiry into the Austric, Dravidian and Aryan bases of our Indian civilisation has thus taken up a vital importance. Our Austric and Dravidian ancestors are once again coming to their own. We are now realising how remarkable has been the synthesis of these entirely diverse culture-worlds through the genius of the thought-leaders of a mixed people—thought-leaders who were of Aryan speech no doubt, but had a mixed inheritance in blood and mental attitude and spiritual quality—i.e., of the Brahmans and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas of the early Hindu age, in origin pure Aryan or mixed Aryan, and sometimes purely non-Aryan. The greatest of such thought-leaders, as we have seen before, were Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa and Krishna Vāsudeva, who were of mixed origin: and there are records of others also.

Austric and Dravidian elements in Hindu or Brahmanical civilisation from the Vedic period onwards have been discussed by a number of scholars and writers, and a *résumé* of their work up to 1935 will be found in the *Bibliographie Analytique des Travaux relatifs aux Éléments an-aryens dans la Civilisation et les Langues de l'Inde* (by Constantin Régamey of Warsaw, in the 'Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême-Orient', Vol. 34, 1935, pp. 429-566). The following studies may also be mentioned: *Non-Aryan Elements in Indo-Aryan* (by S. K. Chatterji, in the Journal of the Greater India Society, Vol. III, 1936, No. 1, pp. 43-49); *Prototypes of Siva in Western India* (by H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, in the D. R. Bhandarkar Volume, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 301-303); *Some Etymological Notes* (by S. K. Chatterji, in the Denison Ross Volume, Poona, pp. 68-74); *India and Polynesia: Austric Bases of Indian Civilisation and Thought* (by S. K. Chatterji, in the *Bhārata-Kaumudi*, Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee,

Allahabad, 1945, pp. 193-208); *Buddhist Survivals in Bengal* (by S. K. Chatterjĳ in the *B. C. Law Volume*, Part I, Calcutta, 1945, pp. 75-87); and the papers by T. Burrows on the Dravidian Elements in Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages (in the 'Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies', 1948, and 'Transactions of the Philological Society of London', 1948).

18. STUDY OF THE MONGOLOID CONTRIBUTION SO FAR NEGLECTED: REASONS FOR THIS NEGLECT

An appraisalment of the rôle of the Mongoloid peoples in the development of the composite Hindu or Indian culture, the peculiar line of development of this culture in its expansion in North-eastern and Eastern India through Mongoloid contact or participation—should be looked upon as an important line of enquiry in tracing the history of Indian civilisation. Yet, so far as I know this has not been viewed in its proper perspective by any scholar (except in some works on Nepal): and there are reasons for this neglect. The part played by the Mongoloid peoples was confined to the distant eastern and northern frontiers of India—in Central and Eastern Nepal, in North Bihar, in North and East Bengal and in Assam. These are rather far removed from the hub of Indian civilisation and history—in Western India, in the Upper Ganges Valley, in the Deccan and in the Tamil land. The Mongoloid elements, again, because of their late arrival (they were possibly later than even the Aryans), could not penetrate far into the interior plains of India, and were not in a position to leaven the whole of India, so to say, in the way that the Austriacs, the Dravidians and the Aryans did. No personality of proved Mongoloid origin (although some scholars have suspected it to be so in some cases) could achieve anything of pan-Indian importance in very early times—although in later periods things of pan-Indian significance were done or contemplated by members of this race. Their work remained confined to their restricted spheres of operation only. Moreover, as they arrived late in the Indian scene, their greatest periods were also late—after the 14th century A.D., when the Turk and Afghan, the Rajput and the North Indian Musalman, the Oriya and the Bengali, the Maratha and the Kannadiga, and the Telugu and the Tamilian, were engaged in a sanguinary drama of war and peace and in the work of cultural endeavour and assimilation in which the Newar and the Kiranti of Nepal, the Bodo of North and East Bengal and Assam, and the Ahom of Assam, and the Jaintia of the Khasi Hills (the last named people being Mongoloid by race but Austriac by speech) had no place. Their earlier history was already obscure at that time, and still remains obscure. We can see how they were being absorbed within the folds of Hinduism, long after the beginning of the first millennium after Christ; and we can now just make some guesses about where they were and what they were doing prior to 1000 A.D. All this has made for the comparative neglect of this chapter of Indian history and civilisation. Yet nothing shows better the wonderful expansive and absorbing power of Brahmanical Hinduism, even during the 15th-18th centuries, than the way in which the Mongoloid elements were made, under its inspiration, to play their great part, and to contribute what they could to the sum-total of Hindu life and culture.

Then, again, at the present day they are numerically insignificant—the speakers of the Sino-Tibetan languages for the whole of undivided India (according to the Census of 1931) do not number more than 4 millions in a population of 389 millions (a percentage of even less than one in the

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entire population—0·85% only). This numerical insignificance, combined with their general cultural backwardness, has been responsible to a large extent for the want of interest in their history and culture.

Most of the basic things in Hindu religion, including myth, legend, ritual and philosophy, are derived from the Austriacs and Dravidians and Aryans. The Mongoloid contribution is not so extensive or deep, but nevertheless it is there, in the history and life and culture of Nepal, of North and East Bengal and of Assam; and through Brahmanical Hinduism, this contribution has got to some extent a pan-Indian implication as well. The impact of a composite Brahmanism (and of medieval Buddhism) on the Mongoloid peoples has its special appeal for the student of Indian religion and culture as a whole.

19. THE MONGOLOID TRIBES IN INDIA: MONGOLOIDS OUTSIDE INDIA

The story of the advent of the Mongoloid peoples into India, as far as it can be reconstructed, may be briefly stated, and an account of the various Mongoloid groups which had to do with India may also be briefly noted. A good *résumé* of the whole history (or, rather, of the reconstruction of a possible sequence of tribal movements) will be found in Sir George Abraham Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Introduction (1927, pp. 40ff.). The Mongoloid tribes represent at least three distinct physical types—the primitive long-headed Mongoloids, who are found in the sub-Himalayan tracts, in Nepal and mostly in Assam; the less primitive and more advanced short-headed Mongoloids, who are found mostly in Burma and have expanded from Burma through Arakan into Chittagong; and finally the Tibeto-Mongoloids, who are fairly tall and have lighter skins and appear to be the most highly developed type of the Mongoloids who came to India. These Tibeto-Mongoloids are the linguistically characterised Tibetans and their various off-shoots who arrived in India through the Himalayas, in comparatively recent times, from Bhotan and Sikkim to Ladakh and Baltistan.

With the single exception of the Khasis and the connected Jaintias (Syntengs) of Assam, the Mongoloid peoples who are found in India are all speakers of languages and dialects belonging to the Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Chinese speech family. Other language families which are also current among peoples of Mongoloid origin outside India are (1) the *Ural-Altaic* (in its two branches (a) the Ural or Finno-Ugrian or Ugrian, consisting of Magyar or Hungarian, Finn, Esth, Lapp, and Vogul, Ostyak, Siryen, Mordvin, Cheremis, etc., of Soviet Russia; and (b) the Altaic, under which come Turki in its various forms, mainly Western Turki or Osmanli and Eastern Turki on Chagatai, besides Yakut, and Mongol and Manchu); (2) the *Hyperborean* or North-east Asiatic Mongoloid speeches like Gilyak, Chukchi, Yukhaghir, and Kamchadal of Kamchatka; and (3) the *Ainu-Korean-Japanese* group. The Mongoloid peoples who passed on to America from Siberia into Alaska crossing the Behring Strait in pre-historic times now speak the various languages and dialects of the two Americas over which they spread, and these American Indian languages fall into a number of families, some of which like those of Mexico and Central as well as Andean America (Peru, etc.) became vehicles of high types of civilisations. But we are not concerned with these in the present context: only we should recall that the Mongoloid peoples in America, as in Mexico, Central America and Peru, produced, quite independently of other peoples, civilisation of an original and very advanced type which can compare favourably with the great civilisations of the old world, one of which was the exclusive creation of the Mongoloid Chinese people.

The Eskimos spread over Greenland and the northern parts of North America are another Mongoloid people whose language also forms a distinct class by itself.

20. SINO-TIBETAN MONGOLOID EXPANSION

The area of characterisation for the primitive Sino-Tibetan speech appears to have been North-western China between the head-waters of the Huang Ho and the Yang-tsze Kiang rivers. Possibly very early offshoots of the Proto-Sino-Tibetan speaking Mongoloids, before the language was fully characterised, came down to South China and Burma, and from them were descended the Man and Miao-tsze peoples of South China and the Karens of Burma—tribes or peoples which are Mongoloid in race but whose speech now appears to be rather distinct from other members of the Sino-Tibetan family.

In Burma and Indo-China lived speakers of Austric (Austro-Asiatic) languages, who were largely of the Proto-Australoid race from India. A mixture of these Proto-Australoids with Mongoloids in very early times in Burma and Indo-China is very likely, this mixture producing the ancient, *Rmeñ* (*Rmañ*) or Mon people of Central and Southern Burma, the Palungs and Was of Upper Burma, as well as the Khmers, the Chams, the Stieng, the Bahnar and other Austric or Austro-Asiatic speakers of Siam and Indo-China. The Karens, now numbering over a million, are Mongoloids from the North who were established in their present area of occupation in the hills between the Irrawaddy, the Salwin and the Menam rivers, by the 6th century A.D.

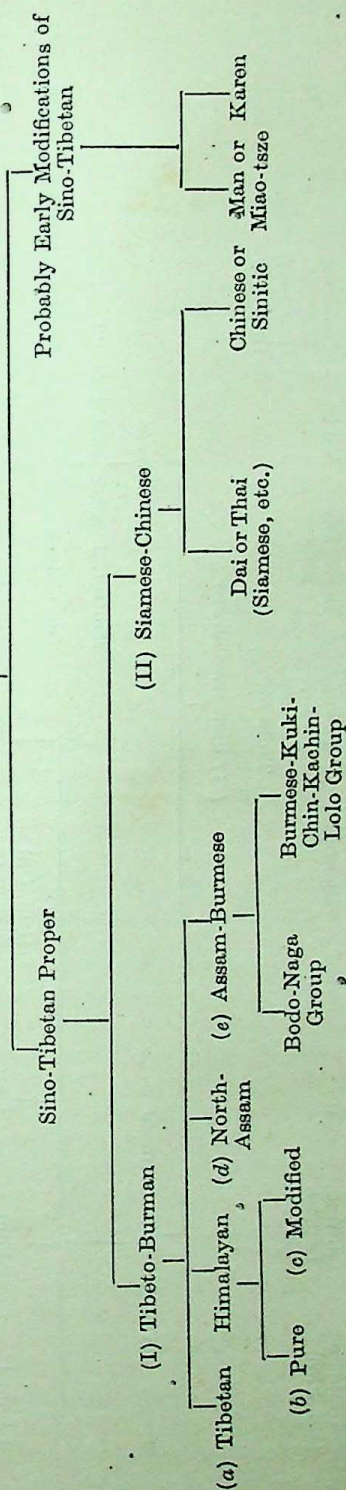
21. THE SINO-TIBETAN SPEECHES

Mongoloid tribes from Western China speaking forms of the Sino-Tibetan speech appear to have been pushing south and west from their original homeland from pre-historic times, but certain large-scale movements of which we have faint inklings seem to have begun in the early part of the first millennium B.C. Linguistically, the Sino-Tibetan languages of the present day have been classified into two groups or branches—(I) Tibeto-Burman, and (II) Siamese-Chinese.

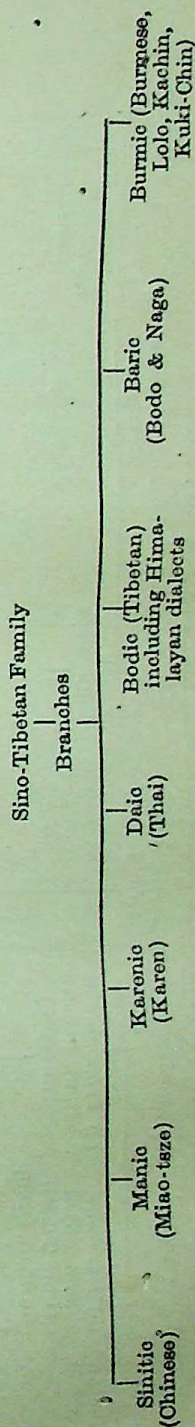
The former includes the following: (a) Tibetan and its various dialects as current over a wide tract from Baltistan in the west to Kham in the east (Ladakhi, Chang and Ü or Central Tibetan speech, Kham or Eastern Tibetan, and Den-jong-ke or Sikkimese Tibetan, as well as Lho-ke or Bhutanese); (b) the Himalayan Group of Dialects spoken on the Indian side of the Himalayas, in Nepal and Sikkim—e.g. Newari, Magar, Gurung, Murmi, Sunwari, Kiranti, Lepcha or Rong, and Toto—which are pure Tibeto-Burman; (c) the 'Pronominalised' Himalayan Dialects of Tibeto-Burman, which show some grammatical modification through influence of the Austric speeches: these fall in two groups, a Western (Kanawari spoken near Simla, Lahuli and 9 other dialects current in the Eastern Panjab Himalayas), and an Eastern (current in Nepal, like Dhimal, Thami, Limbu, Yakha, Khambu, Rai, Vayu, etc.); (d) the North Assam group of Tibeto-Burman speeches—Aka or Hrusso, Miri-Abor, Dafia and Mishmi; (e) the Assam-Burmese group, Tibeto-Burman speeches of North and East Bengal, Assam and Burma; these include—(i) the Bodo speeches—Bodo, Mech, Rabha, Garo, Kachari and Tipra and a few more; (ii) the Naga dialects—Ao, Angami, Sema, Tangkhul, Songtem, etc.; (iii) the Kuki-Chin speeches of Manipur, Tripura and the Lushei Hills, as well as Burma, the most important of which is Meithei or Manipuri, which is quite an

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22. TABULAR REPRESENTATION OF THE SINO-TIBETAN LANGUAGES (FOLLOWING THE 'LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA').
Sino-Tibetan (or Tibeto-Chinese) Speech Family

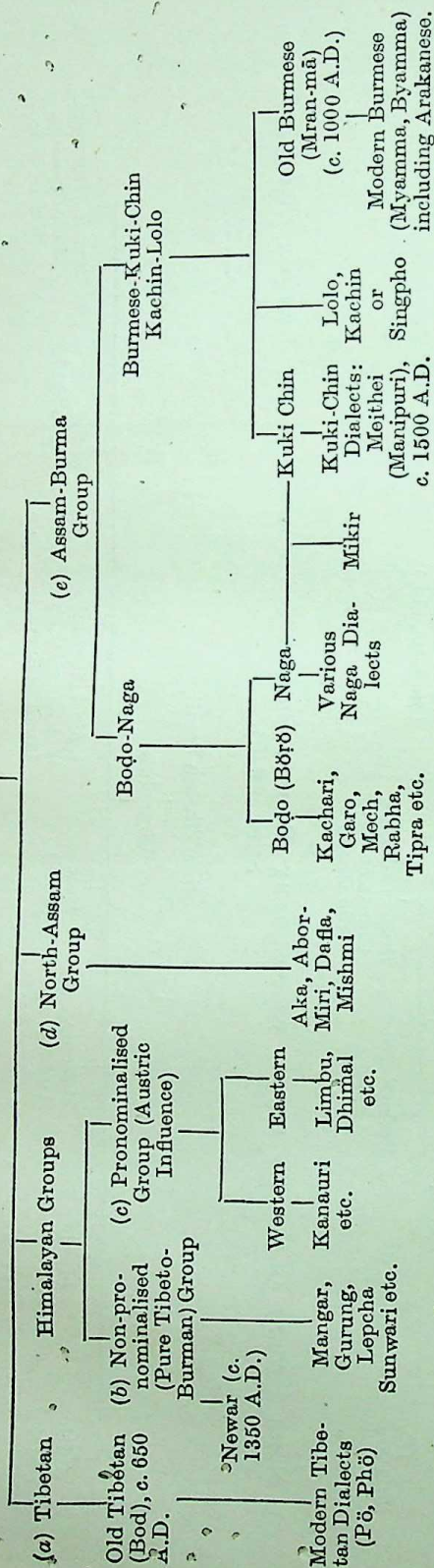


A MORE RECENT CLASSIFICATION AS PROPOSED BY ROBERT SHAFER (cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, SEPT. 1940).

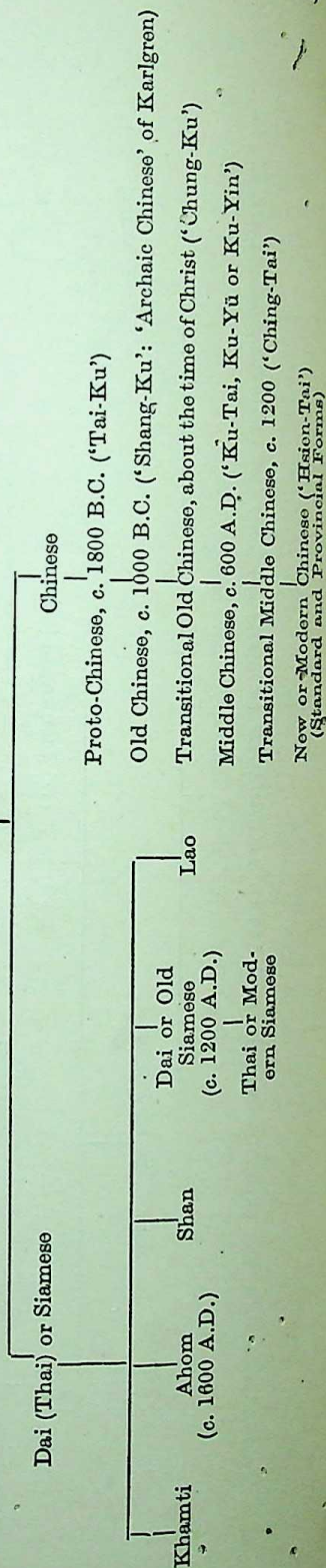


DETAILED INDICATION OF THE SPEECHES IN THE TWO BRANCHES OF SINO-TIBETAN.

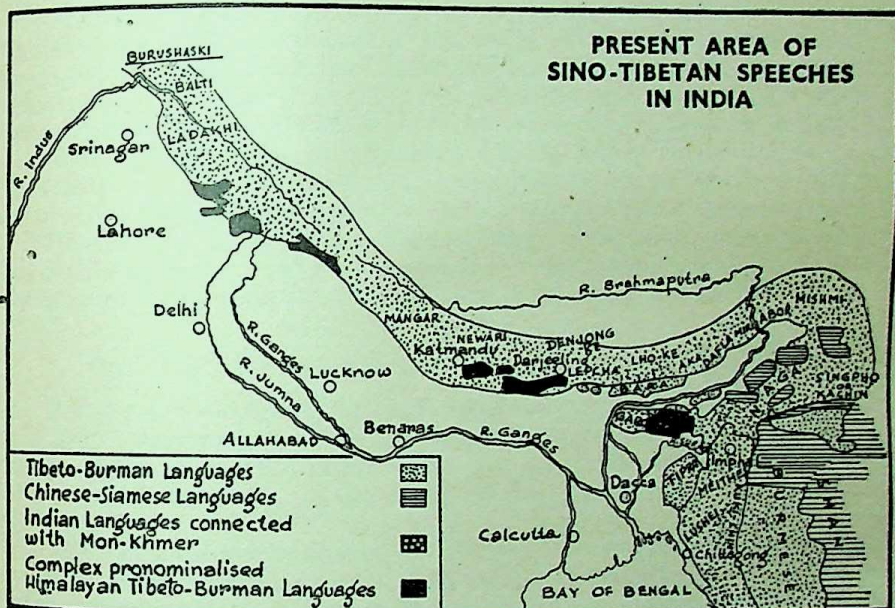
(I) Tibeto-Burman



(II) Siamese-Chinese



New or Modern Chinese (Hsin-Tai)
(Standard and Provincial Forms)



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advanced literary speech—the most important language of the family in Assam; (iv) the Kachin-Lolo group of Northern Burman; and finally (v) the Myamma of Burmese, including its various dialects.

The Siamese-Chinese branch of Sino-Tibetan includes on the one hand Chinese in its various dialects or provincial forms as current at the present day, all derived from a single undivided Chinese speech which was spoken till about 600 A.D.—a form of Northern Chinese now being accepted as the Standard or 'National' form of the speech; and on the other hand Siamese and its connected speeches or dialects, like Dai or Thai, i.e., Siamese proper, and Lao, Shan (Rhwam), Khamti and Ahom, of which Khamti alone is found within the frontiers of India, and Ahom, which was the language of the Shan conquerors of Assam who came to the country early in the 13th century and which continued to be spoken among the Ahoms of Assam right down to the 18th century, is now extinct.

(Shafer has suggested indicating the various branches within the Sino-Tibetan family by means of the suffix *-ic*, and the various tribal or geographical names referring to individual speeches or speech-groups within a branch by means of the affix *-ish*, following the practice obtaining to some extent in the classification of the Indo-European languages in English, e.g. *Celtic*, *Italic*, *Germanic*, *Hellenic*, *Slavic*, *Baltic*, *Indic* branches and *Irish*, *Spanish*, *Swedish*, *Polish*, etc., languages. *Bodic* in the above scheme would therefore mean the Bod or Tibetan branch, and *Bodish* would indicate the Tibetan speech; so *Burmic*=the entire Burman group, and *Burmish*=the Burmese speech; quite a consistent and reasonable system of nomenclature, only it would be difficult to make it generally accepted.)

23. THE MONGOLOIDS IN ANCIENT INDIA: THE KIRĀTAS

We are not concerned in India with the fortunes of the Chinese, the Man and Karen and the Thai or Siamese groups of the Mongoloid peoples, excepting the case of a group connected with the Siamese, the Ahoms, who acquired the status of the ruling tribe in Assam for a number of centuries.

The Tibeto-Burman groups of the Sino-Tibetan speaking tribes would appear to have formed an area of dispersion in some tract to the east of Tibet and north-east of Assam (the present-day Chinese province of Si-Kiang), from where they began to spread east and south. In a similar way, the Chinese province of Yun-nan formed the *nidus* of the Thai (Dai) or Siamese tribes for their southward trek into Siam and Indo-China (Vietnam). It seems quite probable that long before 1000 B.C. some of these early Tibeto-Burmans had penetrated within the frontiers of India, either along the southern slopes of the Himalayas, through Assam (and established themselves in the sub-Himalayan tracts as far west as Garhwal and Kumaon), or by way of Tibet, going up the Tsangpo or Brahmaputra and then crossing the Himalayan barrier into Nepal and Garhwal-Kumaon.

It is the consensus of opinion among Indologists that in Sanskrit the term *Kirāta* indicated the wild non-Aryan tribes living in the mountains, particularly the Himalayas and in the North-eastern areas of India, who were Mongoloid in origin. These Kirātas were connected with the *Cinas* or the Chinese, the *Bhotas* or the Tibetans, and other Mongoloid peoples. They were distinguished from the wild or primitive tribes of Austroic origin who were known specifically as *Nisādas*, *Sabaras*, *Pulindas*, *Bhillas* and *Kollas*. The Mongoloid racial affinities of the Kirātas were proposed by Sylvain Lévi who first took up the question (in his work on Nepal, Vol. II, Paris, 1905, pp. 75ff.), and who quoted passages from the *Mahābhārata*

and other texts indicating the opinion of the ancient Hindu writers about the appearance and ways and connexions of this people, all of which enable us to conclude that they were a Mongoloid people. Kasten Rönnow published a long monograph on the Kirātas (*Kirāta*, pp. 90-169 of *Le Monde Oriental*, Vol. XXX, 1936, Uppsala) in which the question has been discussed in considerable detail and with a much wider background, but the Mongoloid affinities of some at least of the Kirātas are given by him (cf. pp. 93, 100, 115, 123 of the above article), despite a certain amount of speculation about other connexions of the Kirātas (e.g. pp. 138, 145, 153, etc.).

24. THE KIRĀTAS IN VEDIC LITERATURE

The name *Kirāta* is for the first time found in the *Yajurveda* (*Śukla Yajurveda*, *Vājasanēyī Samhitā*, XXX, 16; also *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*, *Tāittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 4, 12, 1). In connexion with the *Puruṣa-mēdha* or 'Man-offering' sacrifice, where a list of all kinds of human beings and animals symbolically or figuratively offered to the gods as sacrifice is given, we find the following passage:—

guhābhyah Kirātām; sānubhyō Jambhakam; parvatēbhyah Kimpuruṣam

'A *Kirāta*, for the caves; a *Jambhaka* (long-toothed man?) for the slopes; a *Kimpuruṣa* (an ugly man, a wild man, an ape?) for the mountains.'

Then in the *Atharvaveda* (X, 4, 14) we have a reference to a *Kirāta* girl (*Kīrātikā*) who digs a herbal remedy on the ridges of the mountains:—

*Kāirātikā kumārikā sakā khanati bhēṣajam:
hiraṇyayībhir abhribhir girīṇām upa sānuṣu.*

'The young maid of *Kirāta* race, a little damsel, digs the drug:
Digs it with shovels wrought of gold on the high ridges of the hills.'

(Translation by R. T. Griffith.)

Macdonell and Keith have the following note in their *Vedic Index* on *Kirāta*: '*Kirāta* is a name applied to a people living in the caves of the mountains, as appears clearly from the dedication of the *Kirāta* to the caves in *Vājasanēyī Samhitā* (also *Tāittirīya Brāhmaṇa*), and from the reference to a *Kirāta* girl, who digs a remedy on the ridges of the mountains. Later the people called *Kirātas* were located in Eastern Nepal, but the name seems to have been applied to any hill folk, no doubt aborigines, though the *Mānava Dharma-śāstra* regards them as degraded Kṣatriyas (ref. X, 44)'. When a non-Aryan or foreign people is described in an old Indian text as being of degraded Kshatriya origin, there is always an implication that they were, to some extent at least, advanced in civilisation or military organisation, and as such could not be dismissed as utter barbarians.

25. THE MEANINGS OF THE WORD 'KIRĀTA', AND NEW INDO-ARYAN WORDS CONNECTED WITH IT

The traditional explanations of the word *Kirāta* do not help us in finding its origin. These explanations are; 'those who move—*atanti*—along the mountain sides, or in bad, dirty places, *kira*'; 'those who move about talking gibberish, *kira* or *kila*'; and Kasten Rönnow in his monograph on the *Kirātas*, quotes from Léhot in his edition of the *Ratnāvalī* the following: *kira'n atati yah* 'qui habite les frontières' (p. 91, *op. cit.*). The derivation

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and connexions of the word *Kirāta* proposed by Rönnow do not appear convincing.

It is quite likely that the name is but a Sanskritisation of some Sino-Tibetan tribal name, and some scholars have identified the name with that of the *Kirāntis*, a Tibeto-Burman people living in East Nepal, which is quite possible.

Following traditional views about the *Kirāta* country, Gopal Chandra Praharaj in his *Oriya Lexicon* (Cuttack, 1932, Vol. II) places it in Northern India; and Jnanendra Mohan Das in his *Bengali Dictionary* (second edition, Calcutta, 1938) identifies it with the Eastern Himalayan tracts, including Sikkim and Bhutan, and Manipur and other adjacent tracts, which are exactly lands of Mongoloid settlement in India.

There are certain words current in New Indo-Aryan languages which are connected with the racial name *Kirāta*. In Bengali, we have the word *Kirāt/Kirēt*; which is used disparagingly of a man who is abnormally miserly or close-fisted, cruel or heartless (particularly of a money-lender in extorting his dues from poor debtors). This would appear to have come from a pejorative employment of the tribal name (**Kirāta-ṛtta* = 'those who behave like *Kirātas*, cruel and stingy people' > **Kirāa-ṛtta* > **Kirāvaṭa* > *Kirāt*, *Kirēt*). *Kirād* is common enough as a caste name in the United Provinces, Rajputana, Madhya-bhārata, Central Provinces and Berar, in the sense of 'a (Hindu) merchant'. It also means 'a corn-chandler', and figuratively it is used to mean 'a robber'; and 'a dalesman, a forester' are two other senses of the word in the Panjab (cf. Kasten Rönnow, *Kirāta*, pp. 142, 143). It is also to be noted that in the Western Panjab, the Hindus who were in a minority were contemptuously referred to by their Mohammadan neighbours as *Kirād*. This form of the word, *Kirād*, as opposed to the Bengali *Kirāt/Kirēt*, may come from a contemptuous expression **Kirāta-ṭa* (> **Kirāa-da* > *Kirād*), and originally implied a person who was like a bad *Kirāta*, a bad man, a robber, or swindler, faceously applied to merchants, moneylenders and others supposed to be eager only to make money. The name *Kirāta* as that of an uncouth non-Aryan tribe evidently came to acquire some sort of stigma among Aryan-speakers. Similarly, the tribal name for some non-Aryan peoples who resisted Aryan advance or conquest came to be used in new senses in the Aryan language: *Dāsa* came to mean 'slave', *Dasyu* 'a robber', *Niṣāda* 'a man of a low mentality', *Caṇḍāla* 'a cruel man', *Kōlla* or *Kōla* 'a pig'; and D. R. Bhandarkar suggested that the Sanskrit *caura* and Prakrit *cōra* 'thief' is but an abusive employment of the South Indian Tamil tribal name *Coṇa*, *Cōḷa* or 'Chola'. We may recall the degradation in sense of the national name *Slav* in German and English, in the sense of a 'slave.' Cf. *Indio* in South America to mean 'a servant', and of *Hindū* in Persian to mean 'black'. This stigma came to be applied partially at least to the name *Kirāta* as early as the age of the Brāhmaṇas, c. 8th-7th centuries B.C. (cf. the term *Kilāla* in Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index*). Compare also the Sanskrit word *Kirāta-tikṭa* for 'a very bitter plant used medicinally'; this occurred in Prakrit as *Cilāa-itta* or *Cirāa-itta*, in Old Bengali it is found in the 12th century as *Cirāyita*, and in Modern Bengali it is *Kirātā* or *Cirēā*: the name may mean either a drug obtained from the *Kirātas* (cf. the *Atharva-vēda* passage quoted before in § 24), or a drug which is 'bitter or vile like a *Kirāta*'.

But the term *Kirāta* was not wholly of contempt, although occasionally it might be so used. We should recall that as early as the *Mahābhārata* we find the legend of Śiva Mahādeva, the Great God, taking the guise of a *Kirāta*, with Umā with him as a *Kirāta* woman, to test Arjuna when he was practising religious penance in the Himālayas: a legend which may have

its germs in the following verse of the *Śata-rudrīya* section of the White *Yajurveda* (XVI, 7):

Asāu yō'vasārpāti nīla-grīvō vilōhitah |
utāinaṃ gōpā adṛśrann adṛśrann udahāryah: sa dṛṣṭō mṛdayāti nah ||

'May he who glides away, whose neck is azure, and whose hue is red, he whom the herdsmen, whom the girls who carry water have beheld, may he when seen be kind to us.' (Trans. by Ralph T. Griffith, Benares, 1899.)

And this is quite a high exaltation of the status of the non-Aryan hill people, the Kirātas, when the Supreme God with his consort was made to take up the guise of a Kirāta mountaineer and his wife.

26. THE KIRĀTAS IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA AND OTHER ANCIENT WORKS

From the *Yajurveda* onwards, the mountain regions of North and North-eastern India—the Himalayas particularly, are well attested as the abode of the Kirātas. In the *Mahābhārata*, the Kirātas are dwellers in the Himalayan regions, particularly in the Eastern Himalayas. Bhīma in his conquering tour meets the Kirātas in the east after leaving the Videha country: Cf. *Sabhāparvan*, 26, 32:—

Vaidēhasṭhas tu Kāuntēya Indra-parvatam antikāt :
Kirātālhīpatin sapta vyajayat tatra Pāṇḍavaḥ ||

(‘Then the Pāṇḍava hero, O son of Kunti, coming to the Vaideha land close to Indra Mountains, defeated the seven Kirāta rulers’.)

They are found also in the North-west when Nakula marches in that direction. The following verses from the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhā*, 52, 8-10: quoted by Kaliprasanna Sen, Vidyābhūṣana, in his edition of the *Rāja-mālā*, Tripura Chronicle, Vol. I, p. 169) are clear about the home of the Kirātas, and make mention of some of their ways:—

ye parārdhē ca Himavataḥ sūryōdaya-girāu nrpāḥ,
Kāruṣe ca samudrāntē Lāuhityam abhitaśca yē ||
phala-mūlāsana yē ca Kirātās carma-vāsasah
krūra-śastrāḥ krūra-kṛtas tāmśca paśyāmy aham prabhō ||
candanājuru-kāṣṭhānām bhārān kāṭyakasya ca,
carma-ratna-suvarnānām gandhānāñ cāiva rāśayah ||

‘Those kings who are on the other half of the Himalayas and in the mountains of the east (Sun-rise mountain) in Kāruṣa by the end (edge) of the sea, and beside the Lauhitya (Luhit or Upper Brahmaputra river), those who are moreover Kirātas living on fruits and roots, clad in skins, fierce with their weapons, cruel in their deeds, them I saw, O Lord: and loads of sandal and agallochum wood, and of black (?) pepper, and masses of skins and gems and gold and of aromatic shrubs.’ (For *Kāruṣe ca samudrānte* there is a variant reading *vāriṣeṇa samudrānte*: Dr. Moti Chandra in his *Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata: Upāyan Parva*, U.P. Historical Society, Lucknow, 1945, pp. 84-85, seeks to identify this *Vāriṣa* with Barisal District in East Bengal, which is by the sea: an identification which is quite likely to be correct.)

In the famous episode of Śiva meeting Arjuna as a Kirāta, accompanied by Umā also in the guise of a Śabarī or a Kirāta woman, in the Himalaya regions, when Arjuna went there to propitiate Śiva by his austerities with a view to obtain the boon of the *Pāśupata* weapons from the Great God himself, as narrated in the *Kirāta-parvan* section of the *Vana-parva* of the *Mahābhārata*, a definite indication of what the Kirāta people were like

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is given. They were 'gold-like', i.e., yellow in colour (and not dark or black like the Dāsas and Dasyus and the Niṣādas and other pre-Aryan peoples of the plains). Cf. the following passages:—

Kāirātaṃ vṛṣam āsthāya kāñcana-druma-sannibham

'Taking up a Kirāta resemblance, like unto a tree of gold' (IV, 35, 2);

dadarṣā'ha tatō jīṣṇuḥ puruṣaṃ kāñcana-prabham

'Then the Victorious One (Arjuna) saw a Man, shining like gold' (IV, 35, 17);

na tvam asmin vanē ghōrē bibhēṣi kanaka-prabha

'O thou that art shining like gold (addressing Śiva in the form of Kirāta), dost thou not fear in this terrible forest?' (IV, 35, 18).

In the *Mahābhārata* also, as Sylvain Lévi has shown (in his work on *Nepal*, referred to above), the Kirātas are mostly associated with foreign peoples, like the Yavanas, the Śakas and the Pallavas, who belong to the west; but especially with the Cīnas or the Chinese. Bhagadatta, the king of Prāgyjyotiṣa or western Assam who took part in the Kurukshetra battle, was definitely described as a ruler over *Mlēcchas* or non-Hindu barbarians: *Prāgyjyotiṣādhipaḥ śūrō mlēcchānām adhiṣṭhā bali*, 'the powerful hero, the lord of Prāgyjyotiṣa, lord of the *Mlēcchas*'; and in the *Sabhā-parvan* (26, 9, quoted in the *Rāja-māla*, I, p. 84) we find—

*sa Kirātāiṣca Cīnāiṣca vṛtaḥ Prāgyjyotiṣō bhavat,
anyāiṣca bahubhir yōdhāiḥ sāgarānūpa-vāsibhiḥ ||*

'The Prāgyjyotiṣa (king) was there, surrounded by *Kirātas* and *Cīnas* (Chinese) and with many other warriors dwelling by the coast of the sea.'

Elsewhere (in *Strī-parvan*, 23), Bhagadatta is described as having his seat among hills (*ṣa śailālayō rājā Bhagadattaḥ pratāpavān* 'here is the mighty king Bhagadatta whose home is in the hills'). The yellow colour of the *Kirātas* and of their allies or kinsmen the *Cīnas* is emphasised elsewhere in the *Mahābhārata*: e.g. in the army of Bhagadatta, 'the Cīna and Kirāta soldiers appeared to be in gold: their troops had the appearance of a forest of *Karṇikāras* (with yellow flowers)' (*Mahābhārata*, V. 584, ASB. edition, II, 1836: *Bhagadattō mahīpālāḥ sēnām akṣāuhīṇīm dadāu: tasya Cīnāiḥ Kirātāiṣca kāñcanāir iva samvṛtam, babhāu balam anādhiṣṭyaṃ karṇikāra-vanaṃ yathā.*)

The *Rāmāyaṇa* also mentions the golden colour of the *Kirātas*: thus,

*Kirātāṣca tikṣṇa-cūḍāṣca hēnābhēḥ priya-darśanāḥ,
antar-jala-carā ghōrā nara-vyāghrā iti śrutāḥ ||*

(*Kiṣkindhyā-Kāṇḍa*, 40, 27, 28, quoted by N. N. Vasu in *Social History of Kāmarūpa*, Calcutta 1922, p. 92.)

'The *Kirātas*, with hair done in pointed top-knots, pleasant to look upon, shining like gold, able to move under water, terrible, veritable tiger-men, so are they famed.'

Elsewhere, the *Rāmāyaṇa* speaks of other *Kirātas* who lived by the sea and were ferocious, and ate raw fish.

The *Kirātas* dwelling in the hills and mountains of the east were supposed to be rich in gold and silver and gems they obtained from these mountains, and they were experts in making cloth of various kinds: cf. the following passage from the *Sabhā-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (30, 26-28):—

*vasu tēbhya upādāya Lāuhityam agamad bali:
sa sarvān mlēccha-nṛpatīn sāgarānūpa-vāsinaḥ
karām āhārayāmāsa ratnāni vividhāni ca ||
candanāguru-vastrāṇi maṇi-māuktika-kambalam
kāñcanam rajataṃ cāiva vidrumam ca mahābalaṃ ||*

'The powerful warrior receiving wealth from them went to the Lauhitya river. He (was victorious over) all the *Mleccha* kings dwelling by the shore of the sea, and obtained tributes from them—gems of various sort, sandal wood, agallochum, cloths, gems (rubies), pearls and blankets, gold, silver, and very hard lapis-lazuli.'

The above passages, and some others quoted by Sylvain Lévi (in his work on *Nepal*) will give some idea about the *Kirātas*, the place where they lived, their appearance and their ways of living, round about the time of Christ, when the *Mahābhārata* was in the midst of its expansion as an encyclopaedic work. The ways of the *Kirāta* were simple. They lived mostly on fruits and tubers, dressed themselves in skins, wore their hair in a pointed top-knot, and were a pleasant-looking people, but terrible with their weapons, and cruel in war. Their yellow complexion evidently marked them off from other Indian peoples.

About the proper home-land of the *Kirātas*, the following passages are noteworthy. In the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, the following verse occurs:—

*pūrvē Kirātā yasya syuḥ, pāścimē Yavanāḥ sthitāḥ;
Brāhmaṇāḥ Kṣatriya-Vaiśyā madhyē Śūdrāś ca bhāgaśaḥ.*

'(India) is in the middle, according to the division (of the world), with Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras : to the east (of India) are the *Kirātas*, and to the west are the *Yavanas*'. (Quoted in *Rāja-nālā*, I, p. 84: the verse occurs also in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, in a slightly variant form.)

In the Pali *Milinda-pañha* (IV, 8, 94: p. 321 of R. D. Vadekar's edition in the Devanagari character, Bombay, 1940), there occurs the expression *Cīna-Vilāta*, my attention to which has been kindly drawn by my friend Krishna-kanta Handiqui (Vice-Chancellor of Gauhati University). This must be a misreading for *Cīna-Cilāta*, i.e., *Cīna-Kirāta*, as names of connected tribes (thus, in the same passage, we have *Saka-Yavana*, *Alasanda* = Alexandria, *Nikumba* = ?, *Kāśi-Kosala*, and *Kasmīra-Gandhāra*: T. W. Rhys Davids in his translation, in the 'Sacred Books of the East', 1894, pp. 203-204, takes *Vilāta* to mean 'Tartary', and he gives an additional reading from the Siamese MSS., viz. *Milāta*: but the word is certainly *Kirāta* = *Cilāta*, and the letters for *c* and *v* are frequently interchanged in old scripts, as they are in Devanagari. Sylvain Lévi has also noted this passage.

The Greek work *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* of the first century A.D. knows of the *Kirrhadaī* (i.e., the *Kirāda* or *Kirāta* people) as 'a race of men with flattened noses, very savage', as living beyond *Dosarenē* (= *Daśarṇa*): this suggests that the *Kirātas* were already in West Bengal, to the west of the Gangēs, in the regions to the north-east of *Daśarṇa* or Orissa. Near the *Kirrhadaī* were, according to the *Periplus*, another people called the *Bargysoi*, who have been identified with the *Bhargas*, mentioned as neighbours of the *Kirātas* by the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*. The *Kirrhadaī* and their neighbours of the same stock participated in the little trade in silk that used to be carried on between China and India, through Yun-nan, North Burma and Assam, in the centuries round about the Christian era.

From the above accounts, it would appear that during the centuries immediately before Christ, and in the early Christian centuries, the *Kirātas* were known to the Hindu world as a group of peoples whose original home was in the Himalayan slopes and in the mountains of the East, in Assam particularly, who were yellow in colour and presented a distinct type of culture. They had spread all over the plains of Bengal up to the sea, and appear to have penetrated as far as West Bengal. They were rich with all the natural wealth of minerals and forest produce with which the mountains and hills and jungles where they lived abounded, but they were adepts in the art of

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weaving cloth (as their descendants still are), the cotton and woollen fabrics they made, being very much in demand among the more civilised Hindus of the plains.

The ancient tradition naming particularly the Mongoloid inhabitants of the Eastern frontiers as *Kirātas* is found down to late mediæval times. Thus in the *Rāja-mālā* chronicle of the Tripura Kings (a verse chronicle in Bengali going back to the 16th century), the *Kirāta* affinities of the local dynasty, otherwise believed to be of Indo-Aryan (Kshatriya) origin, are set forth elaborately. And in the *Yōginī Tantra*, a late (post-16th century) work giving an account of the Śākta holy places and Śākta ritual in Assam, the remarkable admission is made—

Siddhēśi ! Yōginī-pīṭhē dharmah Kāirātajō matah

‘O Queen of all Siddhas (=Umā), in the holy shrine of the Yoginī (i.e., Kāmarūpa) the *dharma* (ritual or religion) is considered to be of *Kirāta* origin.’ (Quoted by Dr. Banikanta Kakati in his monograph *The Mother Goddess Kamakhya*, Gauhati, 1948, p. iii; a variant reading in the Calcutta (1333 B.S.) edition of the *Yōginī Tantra*, ed. by Kalimohan Bhattacharya, p. 457, Patala IX, verse 13, gives in a corrupt form—*sarvēśō yōginī-pīṭhē dharmā-Kāirātajō matam.*)

27. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE EARLY MONGOLOID (KIRĀTA) MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

We may be permitted to reconstruct the picture of the *Kirāta* or Early Mongoloid Movements on the soil of India right down to the beginning of the Christian era. They entered the country probably through Assam, and their advent in the east might have been as old as that of the Aryans in the west, at some period before 1000 B.C. By that time they might have pushed along the Himalayan slopes as far west as the Eastern Panjab Hills. They came to be known to the Vedic Aryans as a cave-dwelling people from whom the Aryans obtained mountain produce like drugs and herbs and the *śoma* plant. The four books of the Vedas were compiled in all likelihood in the 10th century B.C., so that the passages in the *Yajur-veda* and the *Atharva-veda* mentioning the *Kirātas* are at least as old as that period. When the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* were taking shape, between 500 B.C. to 400 A.D., particularly in the pre-Christian centuries, they had occupied the southern tracts of the Himalayas and the whole of North-eastern India, North Bihar contiguous to Nepal and to the north of the Ganges, the greater part of Bengal, and Assam, including the areas through which the Ganges (the Padmā or Paddā of the present day) passed into the sea. Eastern Nepal and the Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra valley were the lands specially connected with them. The Greeks in the 1st century A.D. had heard of them during their visits to Western India and South India as a wild people with the characteristic flat nose of the Mongol races, living to the north-east of Orissa, by the sea, possibly in the delta of the Ganges. A meagre stream of trade from China used to filter through this *Kirāta* country into the ports of Gangetic India. Tribes allied to the *Kirāta* hadai or *Kirātas*, known to the Greeks as *Bēsatai* or *Sēsatai*, used to bring malabathrum from China in baskets carried on their backs. Other Mongoloid peoples living to the north of the *Kirāthadai* were the ‘Horsefaces’ and the ‘Longfaces’, who were known to be cannibals; and these terms were translations of Indian names like *Haya-mukha* (mentioned in early Jaina literature as a *Mleccha* or barbarian people along with the *Kirātas*) or

Āśva-vadāna (mentioned in the *Vara-Saṃhitā-Purāṇa* as living in the mountains to the east of India: see W. H. Schoff, translation of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London, 1912, p. 254, quoting Taylor from the JASB. 1847, and Wilford in *Asiatic Researches*, VIII-IX). Chang K'ien, the Chinese general and explorer of Central Asia in the 2nd century B.C., also testified that there was a trade between North-eastern India and South-western China through routes among the southern barbarian peoples which were not officially known to the Chinese ruling classes in the capital city in North China: this trade was in Chinese silk cloth and Chinese bamboo flutes, among other things, and it brought these articles into Eastern India, which were then carried through the entire length of North India to as far west as Afghanistan and Central Asia. The kinsmen of the Chinese, the Indian Mongoloids, or *Indo-Mongoloids*, were the intermediaries in this trade; and not only did they carry material goods from China, but also at times brought ideas, as we shall presently see, down to the second half of the first millennium A.D.

28. 'INDO-MONGOLOID' AS A PROPOSED EQUIVALENT OF 'KIRĀTA'

The Mongoloid tribes from the east which after their settlement within the frontiers of India and in the contiguous tracts came to be known to the Aryan-speakers as their neighbours and dwellers in the same land—their *compatriots*—and were designated as *Kirātas*, now began to take their share in the progress of Indian history and the development of Indian culture, albeit at first on the outward fringes. They may for convenience be described in English as *Indo-Mongoloids*; and this is a term which defines at once their Indian connexion and their place within the cultural milieu in which they found themselves, as well as their original racial affinity. The word, formed on the model of *Indo-European*, *Indo-Aryan*, *Indo-Saracenic*, *Indo-Chinese*, *Indonesian*, *Indo-Scythian*, etc., can thus be employed as an equivalent of what the ancient Hindus understood by *Kirāta* (when they had definite geographical and ethnic notions), and can also be employed to indicate all those Sino-Tibetan-speaking tribes, Mongoloids of various types in race, who entered into or touched the fringe of the cultural entity that is India: viz. the Himalayan tribes (the Nepal tribes and the North-Assam tribes), the Bodos and the Nagas, the Kuki-Chins, the Ahoms, the Indian Tibetans, and the Khasis, and the earlier tribes (of unknown affiliation within the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family) who have now become absorbed in the populations of the plains of Northern and North-eastern India.

29. KOL OR AUSTRIC INFLUENCE ON SINO-TIBETAN

What was the relation of the *Kirāta* or Indo-Mongoloid tribes settling in North-eastern and Eastern India with the earlier Austric and Dravidian speaking peoples? We know nothing about it. In Burma and Indo-China, the *Mongoloids* have largely absorbed the earlier Austric peoples. The history of Burma has been in the main a conflict between the *Mrammā* or Burmese Mongoloids from the north and the *Rmañ* or *Rmeñ* or Mon Austro-Asiatics living in Central and Southern Burma, leading finally to the complete subjugation and gradual absorption of the Mons, in spite of the latter, possessing a superior culture and having been the teachers of the ruder Mongoloid Burmese in arts and culture, religion and higher life. The same thing may have taken place in Assam and Eastern India. But in India,

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there was already operative a mighty leveller in the form of the Aryan speech. Nevertheless, some glimpses of the relationship between the incoming Mongoloids and the Austriacs and Dravidians and the Aryan-speakers are available in India, in Assam and in Nepal, in the way in which speakers of Sino-Tibetan dialects are becoming Aryanised in speech. In some cases, the Austric speech has triumphed over Sino-Tibetan: the case of Khasi is in point. In the Nepal valley, in certain cases the Mongoloid dialects have apparently ousted Austric speeches; but the latter, while giving way, have managed in some matters to influence the former. Thus in Eastern Nepal, and in Kumaon and Garhwal, and further to the west as far as Chamba, there are two groups of Tibeto-Burman dialects which show what has been called *Pronominalisation*, i.e., the incorporation of the pronoun with the verb: e.g. Limbu *peg-ang* = 'went-I, I went'; *hip-tū-ng* = 'strike-him-I, I strike him'; *hip-ne-ni-ng* = 'strike-you-two-I, I strike you two'; *hip-ā* 'he strikes me, I am struck', *mē-hip-ā* 'they strike me': and this is a characteristic of Kol or Munda languages of the Austric family, which are found to have invaded at least two New Indo-Aryan speeches, the Maithili and Magahi of Bihar (e.g. *māraliāuk* = 'I have struck him for your benefit'—*māral* = 'struck' + *-ī* = 'I' + *-au* = 'for you' + *-k* = 'him'). This characteristic the Tibeto-Burman Himalayan dialects like Kanawari, Lahuli, Kirānti (Dhimal, etc.) could only have acquired through contact with Austric speeches, now suppressed. The *Kirānti* (*Kirānti*) group of peoples in Eastern Nepal, whose name it was which has, in all likelihood, been adopted by the Aryan-speakers as *Kirāta*, speak pronominalised dialects: and this fact shows a very early contact with Austric-speakers in Himalayan tracts, and the presence of such Austric speakers could only have been a very ancient thing in India, probably going back to pre-Christian times. This Kol or Austric characteristic having invaded their language proves more than anything else the antiquity of the Kirāntis. The speakers of the 'Pronominalised Himalayan' languages number (census of 1931) 114,000 souls, of whom 26,000 speak Kanauri and other western languages of the group, and 88,000 the eastern Kirānti, etc.

30. THE LICCHAVIS OF NORTH BIHAR, AND THE INDO-MONGOLOIDS IN VIDEHA

Among the ancient peoples of Eastern India were the *Licchavis*. They were a powerful and a very well-advanced clan of North Bihar who claimed to be (and their claim was generally also recognised) Kshatriyas. They flourished in the time of Buddha, and their prestige was still great nearly 800 years later, in the time of the early Gupta emperors. Some scholars believe that the Licchavis were Indo-Mongoloids, already Aryanised in speech, although they retained a good many of their original Tibeto-Burman ways. Their tribal name has certainly a non-Aryan ring, and they had a number of peculiar customs which suggested Tibeto-Burman affinities (cf. *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, p. 233: note by V. A. Smith). But it is a disputed point. But nevertheless, we may quite legitimately postulate the settlement of the plains of North Bihar (as much as North Bengal and Assam) by Sino-Tibetan tribes, in the midst of the earlier Austriacs and Dravidians; and all these non-Aryan speakers (with a submerged Austric element dominating in the long run, judging from the evolution of the Maithili speech in the matter of *Pronominalisation*) were combined into one Aryan-speaking people of North Bihar after the Aryan language and the Vedic religion came from the west, across the *Sadānirā* or Gomti river, into Videha or Videha, sometime before 600 B.C.

31. INDO-MONGOLOID TRIBES: THE HIMALAYAN GROUP: THE NEWARS;
THE ANCIENT KUNINDA PEOPLE

The Mongoloid tribes speaking dialects of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sinō-Tibetan speech-family would appear to have found a centre of dispersion in some tract to the east of Tibet and north-east of Assam, from where they began to spread into India and Tibet; and the movement started, as suggested before, before 1000 B.C. at least. The route taken by the first arrivals into India is not known—whether it was from Tibet, and then south by crossing the Himalayas, or whether it was from East Assam, along the Dihang, the Sesiri, the Dibang and the Luhit rivers, and down the Brahmaputra in Assam. The Garos, a Bodo people isolated from their brother Bodo tribes, have a tradition that they came to their present home in the Garo Hills from Tibet in the north; but how far this tradition is ancient, genuine and trustworthy we do not know. The original Mongoloid incomers were a very primitive people, being mostly hunters and food-gatherers who also used caves for habitation. The Tibetans, according to a late Buddhist tradition which is of very doubtful historical value, are said to have entered their country during the life-time of Buddha—say about the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. They may have been preceded by earlier tribes who formed the nucleus or basis of the 'Himalayan' Mongoloids of Nepal, speaking languages like Newari, Lepcha, Magar and Gurung, and the 'pronominalised' languages like Dhimal, Khambu, Kanawari and others. The speakers of the 'pronominalised' dialects probably represent the earliest waves; and the Newars, Lepchas, Magars, Gurungs, etc., represent later arrivals. In addition to the 114,000 'Himalayan' Tibeto-Burmans speaking 'pronominalised' dialects, there are some 102,000 people who employ the 'non-pronominalised' dialects (including 43,000 Murmis, 18,000 Magars and 25,000 Rong or Lepchas), besides the Newars in Nepal valley and India proper.

The 'Himalayan' groups of Indo-Mongoloids were thus probably the first to be established in India, and settled in Nepal and pushed as far west as Garhwal and Kumaon, and further to the west; but they have remained largely in a very primitive state. Except for the Newars, in the valley of Nepal (the basin of the Bagmati river), who represent the most highly cultured group of Indo-Mongoloids who have still preserved their language. The entry of the Newars living in this fertile valley within the fold of Indian culture took place probably not earlier than the 3rd century B.C., when, according to tradition, Asoka built a number of Buddhist *cātyas* at Patan. The Newars retained their Tibeto-Burman tongue, and until recently used the Eastern Indian form of the Indian script to write it: now they are using Devanagari to print Newari books. Sanskrit learning took root among the Newars, and a Newari literature came into being fairly early—although the oldest extant remains do not go beyond the end of the 14th century. Arts and literature from the neighbouring Mithila, Magadha and Bengal found a new home in Nepal among the Newars, and a distinct and a marvellously artistic local form of Hindu (Buddhist and Brahmanical) civilisation came into being. The history of Nepal up to the conquest of Nepal valley by the Gurkhas from Western Nepal in 1767 is the history of the Newars. The exact number of Newari speakers is not known; it may be between 200,000 to 300,000 now.

These 'Himalayan' Indo-Mongoloids appear to have mixed with Aryan-speakers in the East Panjab Hills. The Khasas were an Aryan-speaking tribe who appear, like the Gorkhas of a later age, to have absorbed a good deal of Indo-Mongoloid blood. The Kunindas, an ancient Eastern Panjab

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Hill people, are believed to have been of mixed Indo-Aryan and Indo-Mongoloid origin—Indo-Mongoloid on the mother's side, Indo-Aryan on the father's. The Kunindas were an important Aryan-speaking tribe in Eastern Panjab in the centuries round about Christ. Their descendants now form the considerable Kunet community of the Simla Hills (57% of the total inhabitants, 285,741 persons out of a total population of 501,300 in the area; according to the census of 1871: and there were some 400,000 Kunets in the Trans-Satlaj areas—between the Bias and the Satlaj, and in the States of Kahlur, Mandi and Suket: cf. Alexander Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. XIV, 1878-1879, pp. 125ff.). Cunningham in his study of the area inhabited by the Kuninda-Kunet people suggested the presence of Sino-Tibetan (Tibeto-Burman) and Austric (Kol) elements in names of rivers and other physical features. Thus the Tibeto-Burman *-ti*, *-di*, 'water, river' is said to occur in river-names in the Kunet area: e.g. *Rāwa-ti* = 'Ravi River', *Nyung-ti* = 'Bias', *Zang-ti* = 'Satlaj', *Pāra-ti* = 'Para River', etc. The feeders of the Palear river have names ending in *-ti*—like *Gumo-ti*, *Kashia-ti*, *Matre-ti*, *Supe-ti*, *Chu-ti*, *Andre-ti*; those of the Giri river—*Chigaon-ti*, *Chehi-ti*, *Ure-ti*; of the Tons—*Hāmal-ti*, *Buraha-ti*; of the Satlaj—*Ghail-ti*, *Manyao-ti*, *Khanyao-ti*, *Wal-ti*, *Ti-dong*, *Nangal-ti*, *Kha-ti*, *Shel-ti*, *Nare-ti*; of the Spiti river—*Kyok-ti*, *Ling-ti*, etc. Cunningham suggested that it is the Tibeto-Burman which occurs in Sanskritised names of rivers like *Irāva-ti*, *Goma-ti*, *Parba-ti*. This suggestion is certainly wide of the mark, but the possibility of the Tibeto-Burman *-ti* is not to be entirely excluded in studying toponomastics in North India. (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 132, 133.)

An Indo-Mongoloid substratum therefore is quite possible in North-eastern Panjab even: and this substratum is possibly from among the first batch of 'Himalayan' Indo-Mongoloids.

32. THE 'BOD' (=BHŌṬA) OR TIBETANS

After the 'Himalayan' group of the Indo-Mongoloids, we have to consider the other groups. The Tibetan people, whose national name *Bod* (as it was pronounced in the 7th century A.D.: this has now become *Pö* or *Phō*) has been Indianised as *Bhoṭa*, were a numerous and a well-organised tribe, and a fairly powerful one. They had developed the basis of their characteristic culture on the soil of Tibet, where they had also formed their religion, the pre-Buddhistic *Don* religion, and had also probably come to evolve the epic story-cycle of a national hero in the saga of Kesar (or Gesar) king of Gling, prior to the 7th century A.D. When in the middle of the 7th century, the king of the Tibetans Srong-btsan-sgam-po adopted Buddhism, and by matrimonial alliances linked up his country with both India (Nepal) and China, the Tibetans emerged into history from their pre-historic state. They adopted the Indian alphabet as current in Kashmir for their language, and began assiduously to cultivate the literature of Buddhism. They adopted *in toto* the religious art and ritual of Buddhist India, and at the same time they took over many an item of civilised life from China. The Tibetans as staunch Buddhists always looked upon India as their holy land, but they did not seek to penetrate into India, on a large scale, seeking to emulate the earlier 'Himalayan' Indo-Mongoloids. But some groups of them came south towards India nevertheless, notably in Sikkim and in Bhotan. On the whole, the Tibetans remained foreigners so far as India was concerned—ardent borrowers from Indian culture, particularly in the artistic, intellectual and mystic and religious sides. They were thus never of the comity of Indian peoples, and they did not add

anything to the sum-total of Indian culture (although some Tibetan influence in the shaping of the Tantric cults in North-eastern India has been assumed, quite erroneously in my opinion, by some). The census of 1931 enumerated some 252,000 Tibetan-speakers in India, of whom 137,000 were Bhotias of Baltistan, and 42,000 Bhotias of Ladakh.

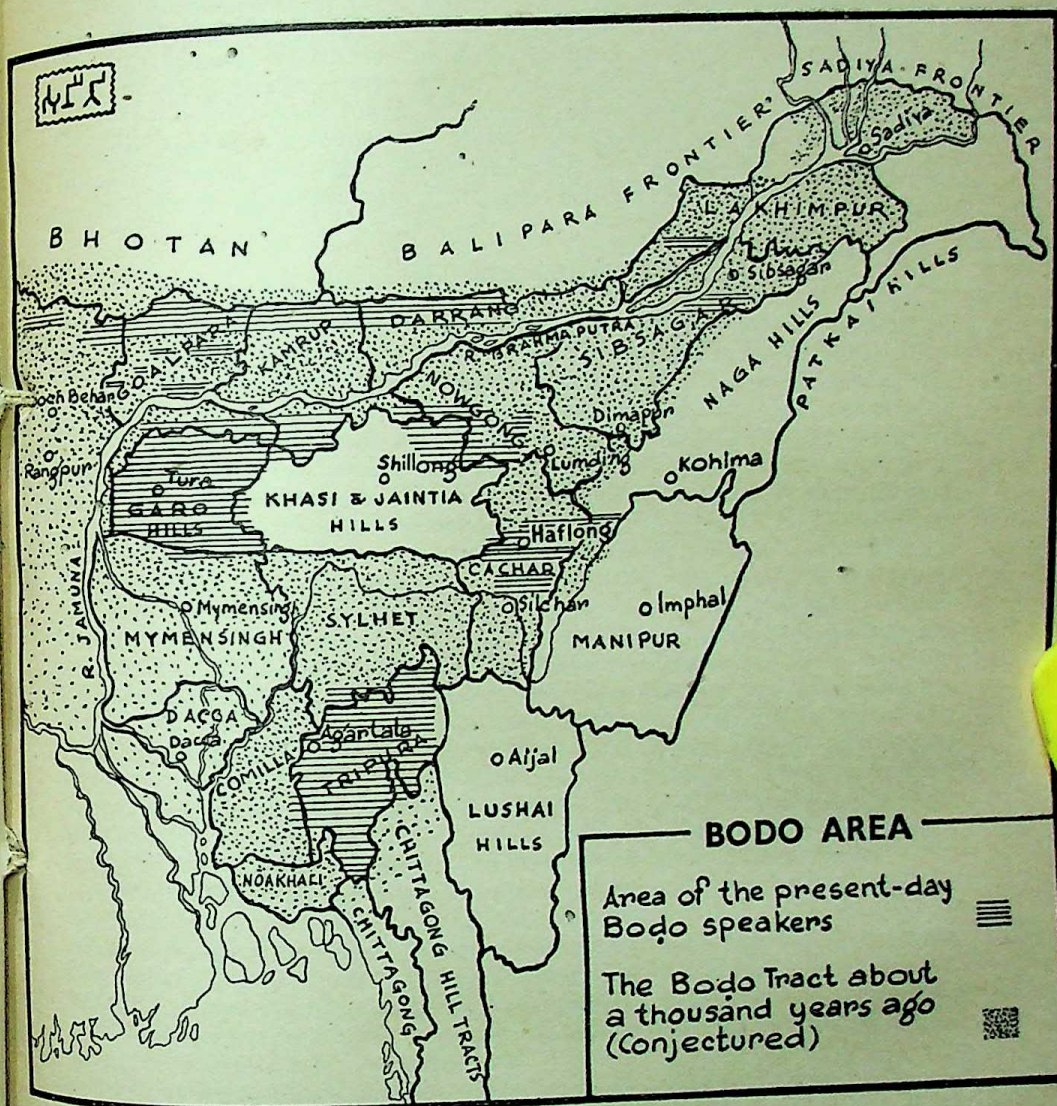
33. THE NORTH ASSAM TRIBES OF INDO-MONGOLOIDS

From their centre of dispersion, other Tibeto-Burman tribes took up their trek into India along the Brahmaputra river westwards. Some of them found homes in the mountainous tracts to the north of Assam, where we find them in the Balipara Frontier Tract to the east of Bhotan as Akas (Hrussos), Abors and Miris, and Daflas, and in the Sadiya Frontier Tract to the east as Mishmis. These have always remained in a very primitive state, and never had any occasion to advance in civilisation like some of their cousins and brothers in the plains and in Nepal. The North Assam tribes, however, appear to be connected with the Nagas and Bodos living to their south. In any case, some sacrificial rites among the Abors appear to be of the type current among the Nagas. The speakers of these North Assam speeches come up to only about 18,000 now (1931 census), of whom 14,000 speak Abor.

The Tibeto-Burmans who came down to Burma in succeeding waves became diversified as the common ancestors of the Bodos and Nagas, on the one hand, who came to Assam and the Brahmaputra valley in fairly early times, and on the other the ancestors of the Kachins or Singphos and the Lolos who have always remained in Burma, the primitive Kuki or Chin people who are found in south-east Assam and Burma (the Manipuris or Meitheis being the most important group among them), and the Mrammā (Myamma or Byamma), i.e., the Burmese proper, who have partly infiltrated into Chittagong through Arakan. All these groups are together classed as the *Assam-Burma* section of the Tibeto-Burmans, by virtue of some common points of linguistic and cultural resemblance among them.

34. THE BODOS (BĀRĀS)

The Bodo tribes are linguistically connected with the Nagas, but whereas the Nagas have always remained isolated and primitive, one may say that the Bodos, who spread over the whole of the Brahmaputra valley and North Bengal as well as East Bengal, forming a solid *bloc* in North-eastern India, were the most important Indo-Mongoloid people in Eastern India, and they form one of the main bases of the present-day population of these tracts. Judging from the wide range of extension of their language, the Bodos appear first to have settled over the entire Brahmaputra valley, and extended west into North Bengal (in Koch Bihar, Rangpur and Dinajpur districts); they may have pushed into North Bihar also, and the Indo-Mongoloids who penetrated into North Bihar might equally have been either Bodos or 'Himalayan' tribes allied to the Newars. They skirted the southern bend of the Brahmaputra and occupied the Garo Hills, where, as Garos, they form a *bloc* of Bodo speech. South of the Garo Hills they spread in northern Maimansing, where the semi-Bengalised Haijong tribe is of Bodo origin. From Nowgong district in Assam their area of occupation extended to Cachar district (particularly in the North Cachar Hills) and into Sylhet, and from Cachar and Sylhet they extend further to the south, to Tripura State, where there is still a Bodo-speaking *bloc* in the shape of the Tipra tribe which founded the State; and from Tripura they spread into Comilla



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and possibly also Noakhali districts: and thus they occupied the mouths of the Ganges by the eastern sea. With the exception of the isolated Khasi and Jaintia Hills, the whole of Assam (barring the eastern parts inhabited by the Nagas and the south-eastern parts inhabited by the Kuki-Chins) and North and East Bengal was the country of the great Bodo people. But at the present moment, except where some islands of Bodo speech still remain, the Kirāta Bodos have merged into the Bengali and Assamese speaking masses, Hindu as well as Musalman, in the area.

According to the census of 1931, the Bodo speakers in India numbered 911,000 persons—close upon a million, of whom 230,000 were Garos, 291,000 Kacharis and 198,000 Mrungs or Tipras, and the rest Rabhas, Meches, Koches, etc. For Bodo tribes, see Sidney Endle, *The Kacharis*, London, 1911; J. A. Playfair, *The Garos*, London, 1909.

35. THE NAGAS

Two other groups will complete the survey of the Indo-Mongoloids of the Tibeto-Burman group in Assam: the Nagas and the Kuki-Chins. The Nagas are in occupation of the Naga Hills area in the east of Assam, and are found also in the State of Manipur. Linguistically they are said to have a close affinity with the Bodo speakers. But they have absorbed some Negroid blood; and in their culture, their ways of life, they have remained very primitive. The name *Naga* given to them by their Aryan-speaking neighbours the Assamese, means 'naked' (*Nagā*), and they were dreaded and detested as being addicted to head-hunting. Numerically they are some 350,000 souls (census of 1931), but they are split up into a number of mutually exclusive tribes who do not understand each others' speech. The Aryan Assamese (and occasionally Hindi) forms a common *Lingua Franca* among the various Naga tribes. Christian missionaries have furnished some literature to some of the Naga dialects (or languages) by translating in them portions of the Christian scriptures (e.g. in Ao, Angami, Tangkul). There are some very good monographs on the Nagas as a whole and on the different tribes of the Nagas by European ethnologists, from which we are enabled to form a good idea of the Naga milieu. In Manipur, there is a tendency among the Nagas to be absorbed linguistically and culturally among the ruling Meithei or Manipuri people.

The following works can be mentioned for a study of the Nagas: T. C. Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, London, 1911; J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, London, 1921; *ibid.*, *The Sema Nagas*, London, 1921; *ibid.*, *The Lhota Nagas*, London, 1922; William Carlson Smith, *The Ao Naga Tribes of Assam*, London, 1925; S. N. Mazumdar, *Ao Nagas*, Calcutta, 1925; J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, London, 1926; Christoph von Fuerer Haimendorf, *The Naked Nagas*, Calcutta, 1946.

The Nagas are just now entering the domain of Indian civilisation in an official or formal manner. Some of their religious notions and ceremonies present a strange similarity with those of the later Vedic Aryans.

36. THE KUKI-CHINS

The Kuki-Chin tribes present an important branch or section of the Assam Indo-Mongoloids. They have their kinsmen in Burma, and appear to have settled in fairly ancient times in Manipur and the Lushei Hills, as well as in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. From Lushei Hills and Manipur they came in large numbers to Tripura State, where they form an important

section of the people. These Indo-Mongoloids are known to the Assamese and Bengalis as *Kukis*, and to the Burmese as *Chins* (written *Khyin*), and *Kuki-Chin* has been adopted as a composite and inclusive name for them. The Meitheis or Manipuris appear to have entered the Hindu fold at least as early as the 15th century when Vaishnavism spread among them: but Meithei Hindu traditions would take their admission into the group of Hindu peoples to a remote antiquity. They developed an alphabet, a modification of the Indian system of writing, the actual time and provenance of which is not known. But from the middle of the 18th century, they adopted the Bengali script with the conversion of the ruling Manipur king Gharib-nawaz to Chaitanya Vaishnavism, through Bengali Vaishnava preachers from Sylhet in 1740. The Meitheis are now staunch Hindus, and through them Manipur has been made the easternmost outpost of Hindu culture in India. In modern times, the Manipur Vaishnava dance—the *Rāsa*—has been a great contribution to the art of the Dance as an expression of Modern Indian culture. The Meitheis are very proud of their language which has a growing literature—of translations from the Sanskrit, of original poems, of dramas, and of novels and general prose essays. The eminent Manipuri Sanskritist and leader of the Hindu culture, Paṇḍitarāja Atombapu Vidyāratna, has brought out editions of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, the *Gīta-gōvinda*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa* and other Sanskrit works with Manipuri translations; dramas in Manipuri, original or translated from Bengali, are staged in the public theatres in Imphal, and a huge narrative poem of some 39,000 lines on the love and adventures of the hero Khamba and the princess Thoibi (who are supposed to have lived during the first half of the 12th century), based on popular ballads on the theme, have been composed by the late Hijum Anganghal Singh (d. 1944), the greatest writer of Manipuri at the present day. Manipuri as a mother tongue is studied up to the B.A. examination, and unquestionably it is the most important language in Eastern India, after Bengali and Assamese.

The number of Manipuri speakers according to the census of 1931 was 392,000; but as the language is taught all over the State, both the Kukis, linguistic relatives of the Meitheis, and the Nagas are acquiring it, so that the language may have doubled its extent, and may hit the million mark ere long. Manipuri Brahmans have penetrated into Burma also, and they have been for the last few centuries important missionaries of the Sanskrit culture of India in South-eastern Assam and Burma. The total number of Kuki-Chin speakers in India, according to the 1931 census, is 973,000, coming close up to one million. For the Kuki-Chins, see *Linguistic Survey of India*, Volume III, Part 3, Kuki-Chin and Burma Groups, Calcutta, 1904; Lt.-Col. J. Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, London, 1912; Tarak Chandra Das, *The Purums, an Old Kuki Tribe of Manipur*, Calcutta University, 1945.

37. OTHER INDO-MONGOLOIDS OF ASSAM

There are a few other Indo-Mongoloid tribes of Assam, small in number and insignificant in influence, who form intermediate groups among the Bodos, the Nagas and the Kukis. Thus the *Empeos* (10,280, LSI estimate), the *Khoirao*s (15,000, LSI) and the *Kabuis* (11,073, LSI estimate) are looked upon as Nagas, but they are in language intermediate between the Bodos and Nagas. Then there are the *Mikirs* (129,000, census of 1931), living in the Mikir Hills (Nowgong and Sibsagar), who linguistically are between the Kukis and the Nagas. The Mikirs appear to be a gifted people, with an imaginative turn of mind, as is noticeable in some of their folk-tales.

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38. THE AUSTRIC-SPEAKING KHASIS

The Khasis of Assam (253,000, census of 1931) require a special notice. They form an island of Mon-Khmer (Austrie, or Austro-Asiatic) speakers within the original Bodo area. They are by race Indo-Mongoloid, but their language is different. They would appear to be a Mongoloid people who have adopted the language of the earlier race, the Austries (or Proto-Australoids), after they came down south from the Tibeto-Burman area of dispersion. They may have changed their speech to the Austrie (Mon-Khmer) Khasi even while they were in Burma; and after that they may have come to Assam and ensconced themselves in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, successfully resisting all possible attempts of the Bodos who followed them in dislodging or absorbing them. It is equally likely that they were a congeries of diverse Tibeto-Burman speaking tribes in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and in the plains of Sylhet, settling among original Austrie speakers, whose language the Tibeto-Burman settlers in this area found convenient to adopt when their own tribal dialects were too numerous and too diverse. Possibly this linguistic change-over occurred before the coming of the waves of Bodo expansion. Their linguistic uniqueness they have preserved among the surrounding Tibeto-Burmans (Bodos) and Aryan-speakers (Bengalis and Assamese).

The Khasis are a gifted people, and contact with the Bengalis in the south and the Assamese in the north and east, and with European Christian missionaries within their own country have been of great help in making them advance in the scale of civilisation. They study their language which has been Romanised, and they have produced educators and administrators of note. In importance, they are to be mentioned after the Newars, the Bodos and the Manipuris among the Indo-Mongoloid peoples of India.

39. THE AHOM (AHAM, ASAM) PEOPLE OF THE SIAMESE-CHINESE GROUP

The various Tibeto-Burman groups thus came to be established on the soil of India in times of which we have no historical memory or notion. But within historical times, another Mongoloid people, this time not of Tibeto-Burman but of Siamese-Chinese speech, entered into North-eastern Assam from Burma through the Patkoi Range and along the Noa-Dihang river. They were the *Asams*, or *Ahams* (Ahoms), a people who gave their name to the province of *Assam*. They advanced into India as a group of invaders who established themselves in the easternmost part of the Brahmaputra valley under their chief Su-ka-pha in 1228 A.D. Gradually they extended their power and rule, conquering the local peoples, Hindus of diverse origin, mostly Bodos. By the middle of the 16th century, after conquering the powerful Hindu Bodo kingdom of the Kacharis, they became paramount in the valley of the Brahmaputra. The Ahoms ruled over Assam right up to the annexation of the province by the English in 1824. The Hinduisation of the Ahoms, at first in culture and religion and then in language, commenced with great vigour in the 17th century; and 1750 it was all but complete. They cultivated their language and wrote *Buranjis* or Chronicles in them, a practice which they continued in Assamese after they abandoned Ahom for Assamese. Their most glorious period was the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century, when they had progressed a great deal in their Hinduisation. In their political history and their achievements (successful resistance to the Muslims from the west) the Ahoms formed a most important and a very powerful Indo-Mongoloid group in North-eastern India.

40. INDO-MONGOLOID FUSION IN THE INDIAN BODY-POLITIC STILL CONTINUING—IN NEPAL, AND IN ASSAM AND IN NORTH AND EAST BENGAL

Mongoloid participation in the enacting of the common drama of political history and in the evolution of the common culture of North-eastern and sub-Himalayan India is not yet a thing of the past. It was operative in the Panjab Himalayan areas, in North Bihar, and in other tracts, in ancient times. We see the process of fusion working before our eyes, in two distinct areas particularly—Nepal, and Assam and North and East Bengal. The following tribes or peoples have been affected by it: the 'Himalayan' Indo-Mongoloids who have now merged into the Kunets, the Khasas and other mixed peoples in the area between the Satlaj and the Bias in the Panjab Hills; the tribes living in the East Panjab and North-west United Province Hills, including Garhwal and Kumaon (like the Manchat, the Rangloi, the Bunan, the Kanash and the Kanawari: the Rangka, Darmiya, Byangsi and the Chaudangsi tribes—all belonging to the western group of 'complex pronominalised' Himalayan Tibeto-Burman dialects); the Magars and Gurungs of West Nepal; the Newars, Buddhist and Brahmanical inhabitants of the Nepal valley; the Kirānti peoples of Central and Eastern Nepal (the Vayu, the Khambu, the Yakha, the Limbu, the Dhimel and a few others, belong to the eastern group of the 'complex pronominalised' Himalayan dialects). Of these, the Magars, the Gurungs and the Newars, members of the Himalayan branch of the Indo-Mongoloids whose language has not been affected by Austric, have become largely modified by admixture with high-caste Hindu elements from the Indian plains—at least in their upper classes. Then, outside of Nepal, are the Bodos (Koches, Meches and other tribes in North Bengal and Assam, Kacharis in Assam, and Tipras in Tripura in East Bengal) and the Ahoms in Assam; besides the Austric-speaking Khasis and Jaintias in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills; and finally, the Meitheis in Manipur.

The contribution to Indian culture of some of these peoples has been quite noteworthy: particularly of the Newars, the Bodos, the Ahoms, and, in recent times, of the Meitheis.

41. NATURE OF INDO-MONGOLOID PARTICIPATION IN HINDU CULTURE

What were the general lines of the Indo-Mongoloid participation or contribution in the evolution of Indian culture and in the course of Indian history in the areas where they were active? Briefly, it was of a piece with evolution of culture and history in other parts of India: it was largely a case of progressive Indianisation or Hinduisation of these Mongoloid peoples, bringing them within the fold of what may be called 'Sanskrit culture'. This was a culture which was brought to the Indo-Mongoloids in Nepal by both the Brahman priest and the Buddhist monk, and in Bengal and Assam by the Brahman priest mainly. Hindu military adventurers and merchants also participated. But it was not a case of one-sided influence or absorption only. It was also a case of the Mongoloid speeches and ideologies, cults and customs being engrafted on the stock of Hindu (i.e., Indo-Aryan-cum-Austric and Dravidian) speech and ideology and cults and customs. Culture and race contacts are never one-sided in their influence. The later Mahāyāna Buddhism of Nepal as it was taken from Bihar and Bengal, in its ideas and its ritual; the Śaiva and Śākta cults, in their pure Hindu form as the Hindu *tantra* and in their Buddhist environment as Buddhist *tantra* in Nepal; and the local Śākta, Śaiva and Vaishnava developments of Hinduism in Assam and Bengal; are due, partly at least, to the reaction of the early

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Mongoloids in North Bihar, and to the temperament of the Newars in Nepal and of the Bodos, the Ahoms and the Khasis in Behgal and Assam. Bengal's culture has now become more or less uniform, with persistent North Indian influences, and has a predominantly West Bengali character, more free from Indo-Mongoloid elements than in Assam and Nepal. We have to consider the sanctuaries of Hindu faith in Nepal, Assam and Bengal, some of which, like that of Pasupatinath in Nepal, of Kamakhya in Assam (Gauhati), of Kali at Kalighat in Calcutta, and of Chandranath near Chittagong, have acquired a pan-Indian importance. Local feasts and festivals, local ways of life, local arts and crafts, with certain modifications in the different areas, are the result of the special social and mental environment of the Indo-Mongoloid peoples. We have also to consider certain types of artistic expression in the fine arts and the crafts, e.g., in architecture, as among the more advanced Indo-Mongoloids like the Newars, the Koches, the Tipras, the Ahoms and the Kacharis, and in painting and sculpture and in decoration, in the textile arts in both cotton and silk, in dress, etc., generally. In this connexion, we have further to take note of the coin-legends and an-ionic coin types which were evolved in Nepal on the one hand and in Bengal-Assam on the other, in the courts of the Newar kings of Nepal, and the Koch, Tripura, Ahom and Kachari and Jaintia kings, from the 15th century onwards. That the mentality and the emotional quality of the Indo-Mongoloid peoples as a whole (now merged or in the process of being merged into the Hindu and Hindu-Buddhist and in some cases into the Bengali Muslim masses of Nepal, Assam and Bengal) would be reflected in their history and in the changes that took place in Hindu religion and ritual and culture in general, is easy to understand.

42. THE MONGOLOID 'CHARACTER': AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE INDO-MONGOLOIDS

It will be difficult to label the 'character' of the Mongoloid peoples as a whole in certain categorical terms. But it may be said, without being dogmatic on the point, that a great optimism and a cheerfulness of temper, combined with a *bon-homie* and a *cameraderie* that are the result of a sense of happy-go-lucky freedom, appear to be the most salient qualities of the character of the Mongoloid peoples. Self-reliance and courage, as well as resourcefulness, are other good points in the Mongoloid character. On the debit side, however, they appear to be rather credulous, and at times they can be very cruel to both man and beast; and, besides, they lack a depth of thought and possibly also a depth of feeling or emotion (in this they are quite unlike their kinsmen the Chinese). A habit of indolence, after their immediate needs are satisfied, seems to be present as an occasional characteristic; but when roused to action, they are capable of concerted and sustained work. They are factual and not philosophical, and pragmatic and practical rather than argumentative. They have also an innate sense of decoration and colour and of rhythm. In the blankets and loin-cloths they weave there is a harmonious combination of colours—scarlet reds, and blacks, and yellows and blues, sometimes with geometrical patterns. Dance as an art is well-developed among them—among some tribes forming a part of their religious ritual, both pre-Hindu and Hindu. They like mimicry; and on the basis of this, where they have developed the drama, they take to it with great enthusiasm. In certain matters, particularly in the fine arts, they make very good pupils, but they seldom go beyond the traditional paths.

The Indo-Mongoloids were the great transmitters of the culture they received from the Hindus of the plains. The Newars passed on the art of

the Pala dynasty of Eastern India to Tibet and beyond; the early Kukis, and the Bodos of Assam and Eastern Bengal, in the Pattikera kingdom in the district of Comillah, and in certain Hindu or Hinduised principalities of Chittagong and Arakan, were the intermediaries in the transmission by land routes of the Brahmanical and Buddhist culture of India to Burma and beyond, during the greater part of the 1st millennium A.D., and probably in the early pre-Christian centuries as well.

Another great contribution of the Indo-Mongoloids was in the successful resistance they gave, after they took initiation into Hindu culture, to the aggressive spirit of Islam in India. Assam was never permanently conquered by the Musalmans. From 1198 onwards, there were a dozen invasions of Assam, but in 1681 the Moguls in the time of Aurang-zeb were driven out for good by the Ahom king Su-pat-pha (or Gadādhār Sīmha). His son Su-khrung-pha (or Rudra Sīmha) even contemplated attacking and conquering Bengal from the Moguls, with the help of a confederacy of the Hindu princes of Eastern India whose friendship he was cultivating with this end in view; but death put an end to all his objectives on the eve of his projected advance against the Moguls in Bengal with well-trained and well-prepared armed forces. It is also a moot point if at any time the Musalmans from India were able to create an impression upon the Newars, even if they penetrated into the valley of Nepal. Hill Tipperah—the kingdom of Tripurā—was never conquered by the Muslims from Bengal, and, as in Assam, the Tripura kings with their Tipra and Kuki troops in many cases drove out the Muslim invaders by brilliant generalship and superb courage. The Kachar and Jaintia kingdoms always remained independent Hindu states on the fringe of a Bengal which was ruled by Muslim Sultans and *Subahdars* (Viceroys of the Mogul emperor in Agra and Delhi) and Nawabs. The Koch king Nara-nārāyaṇa was no mean contemporary of the great Akbar; the Tipperah king Dhanya-māṇikya who ruled c. 1500 A.D., and one of Dhanya-māṇikya's successors Vijaya-māṇikya who was a contemporary of Akbar, were great soldiers and great rulers, and they built up strong and extensive kingdoms which very well merited the title of *empires*; and the Ahom kings Gadādhār Sīmha and Rudra Sīmha, contemporaries of Aurang-zeb and Bahādur Shāh of Delhi, were also enlightened and powerful kings.

The Newar kingdoms were centres of a great school of plastic art for centuries from the days of the Palas of Bengal and Bihar, and latterly of music and the drama.

In giving successful resistance to Muslim aggression, distance from Delhi was no doubt a great factor; and the rainy season in Bengal and Assam was a great asset for defence. Yet all these invasions had their bases in Bengal, at Dacca and at Gaur; and the distance from Delhi to Koch Bihar, Gauhati and Rangpur (Jorhat) in Assam, and to Udaipur in Tripura, is not greater than that from Delhi to Bijapur or Golconda. The doughty light-armed foot-soldiers (*pāiks*) of Mongoloid origin, as a mobile body of troops, were more than a match for the Turki, Pathan, Mogul and Rajput mail-clad horsemen in the terrain of North and East Bengal and Assam. And these light-armed and very mobile *pāiks* of Bengal, particularly of North Bengal and Tripura and Assam, who stemmed the tide of Muslim advance on many an occasion, have to be given their due recognition, side by side with the other and more famous fighters of India—the Panjabi Hindus (Jats and Rajputs), Muslims and Sikhs, the Rajputs of Rajasthan and North India, the North Indian Hindus and Musalmans, the Marathas, the Oriyas, and the Telugus and the Gonds, the Bhils and the Minas, the Kannadigas and the Tāmilians, and the Nayars of Kerala.

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43. SOME OUTSTANDING CHARACTERISTICS OF MONGOLOID (TIBETO-BURMAN) CULTURE (ACCORDING TO W. C. SMITH)

In his *Ao Naga Tribes of Assam : a Study in Ethnology and Sociology* (London, 1925), Dr. W. C. Smith, a Christian Missionary as well as a sociologist from America among the Nagas, has given 13 outstanding characteristics of the Tibeto-Burman tribes of Assam, whom he attaches racially to the 'Indonesians', i.e. the people of Malaya and the Islands of Indonesia. These are: (1) Head-hunting; (2) Common Sleeping-houses for the Unmarried Men, which are taboo to women; (3) Dwelling Houses built on Posts and Piles; (4) Disposal of the Dead, on raised Platforms; (5) a sort of Trial Marriage, or great freedom of intercourse between the sexes before marriage; (6) Betel-chewing; (7) Aversion to Milk as an article of diet; (8) Tatooing by pricking; (9) Absence of any powerful political organisation; (10) the Double-cylinder Vertical Forge; (11) the Simple Loom for weaving cloth; (12) a large Quadrangular or Hexagonal Shield; and (13) Residence in Hilly Regions with a crude form of Agriculture (pp. 120ff., *op. cit.*). All these traits are of course not found among all the Indo-Mongoloids (whether of Bengal and Assam or of Nepal) of today, but there is evidence to show that these were at one time spread or current among most or all of their tribes. Some of these traits would appear to be of genuine Mongoloid origin; others, like the common club and sleeping house for bachelors, and betel-chewing, would seem in all likelihood to have been adopted from the Austrie predecessors of the Mongoloids in their present habitat in Burma and Assam. This matter, of course, requires closer investigation—the nature and extent of Sino-Tibetan and Austrie cultural and racial miscegenation in Eastern India and Farther India.

44. EARLY MONGOLOIDS AND HINDU HISTORY AND CULTURE: SOME ANCIENT POINTS OF CONTACT

Before considering the question of Indo-Mongoloid or *Kirāta* participation in Hindu history and culture in some detail, regionally and chronologically, we may note some early points of contact in the domain of religious, philosophical ideas and religious cult and ritual.

The Aryan speech with the Vedic fire-cult does not appear to have been established over Northern India beyond North Bihar—Videha or Mithila—before 700 B.C. Prior to that, in the area of North Bengal and Assam, a powerful non-Aryan, possibly Tibeto-Burman, state may have arisen, with a mixed population of Austries, Dravidians and Tibeto-Burmans—the last, as representing a group of aggressive invaders from the East, perhaps being dominant and furnishing the ruling class, as it happened many centuries later when the Ahoms came to Assam. This non-Aryan state, possibly ruled over by Indo-Mongoloids, was susceptible to upper Gangetic Brahmanical influences from the beginning. Traditionally, a ruler of this early Indo-Mongoloid state, Bhagadatta, took part in the Kurukshetra battle. Further to the west, probably in the valley of Nepal, and in the hill area watered by the Satlaj and the Bias, beyond Kumaon and Garhwal, penetration by barbarous mountain-dwelling *Kirātas* had taken place about that time, i.e., c. 1000 B.C., or it may be earlier still. The references to the *Kirātas* in the *Yajur-veda* and the *Atharva-veda* have been given before. Miscegenation with the *Kirātas* may have started in the western areas already: a miscegenation anticipating the process which is still at work in Nepal and elsewhere, or, rather a miscegenation which is still continuing.

At the time of Buddha, we find the powerful clan or people of the *Licchavis* in North Bihar. It has been suggested that they were a people

of Indo-Mongoloid origin. The account of their life and culture as given in the old Buddhist texts certainly shows a number of non-Brahmanical traits: for example, exposure of the dead, and a modified form of polyandry. They seem to have abandoned their original Tibeto-Burman speech for the Aryan, and in this they were like the later Koches of North Bengal and Ahoms of Assam, when these people took up Bengali and Assamese and entered into the structure of a Brahman-organised society. If the Licchavis were really Indo-Mongoloids, it is no longer possible to find out if they came from Nepal or from the Assam side. In North Bihar, their power and organisation won for them the status of Kshatriyas, as has happened in the case of the later Gorkhas. The Licchavi name became an honoured one, and the founder of the Gupta empire in the early part of the 4th century A.D. was proud of his Licchavi connexion, he having married the daughter of a Licchavi house. In Nepal, we have a Licchavi dynasty ruling for over five centuries (from c. 350 to 879 A.D.), as a sort of precursor of the Newar dynasties of subsequent times. It is not impossible, as Dines Chandra Sarkar has suggested (in the *Vaisali Volume*, in Hindi) that the group of eastern tribes like the Śākyas, the Koliyas, the Licchavis, the Vṛjis or Vajjis, the Moriyas, and others, were ultimately of Mongoloid origin, or were mixed peoples with a strong Mongoloid element who had adopted or were adopting the Aryan speech.

The claim of Kshatriyahood made by all these tribes is not at all a proof of their pure Aryan origin. The non-Aryan origin or affinities of the Licchavis (along with the Mallas and the Khasas, who were in later times well-known as Mongoloid or mixed peoples of Nepal and of the lands to its west) is hinted at by Manu (X, 22) who declared them to be *Vrātyas* or debased Kshatriyas. Brahmanical orthodoxy as typified by Manu, refused to be influenced here by the power and pre-eminence of the Licchavis (see Sylvain Lévi, *Le Nepal*, Vol. I, pp. 87, 88).

If this view is correct, then Buddha himself would be an Indo-Mongoloid. He would be racially like the Gorkhas of Nepal. There is, it must be remembered, a good deal in Buddhism (at least in its outer forms) which goes counter to Aryanism, particularly Aryan racialism. This may well be a reflex of the race minds and cultural *milieus* in conflict, consciously or unconsciously. Thus, in Aryan religion the religious man as well as householder both wore long hair and beards (a practice we find among the kinsmen of the Aryans outside India, e.g. the Iranians, the Slavs, the Spartans and other ancient Greek tribes, the Germanic tribes); but the Buddhist monk was clean-shaven. Buddhist monks were enjoined to abstain from bedsteads, and were to lie on the ground, whereas the Aryan habit was to sleep in raised beds. Buddha was, however, very anxious to have the moral path preached by him known as the 'eightfold Aryan path' (*ariyaṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*): and this solicitude for the 'Aryan' name would appear to be on a different footing from the jubilant and rather fervent pride, racial and patriotic in character, which the Achæmenian emperors of ancient Persia manifested in their inscriptions. With Buddha, *ariya* was more a moral attribute in the sense of 'noble' than a racial or national name, such as it was among the Vedic Aryans and the ancient Iranians—although the racial contrast between *Ārya* and *Dāsa* or *Śūdra*, i.e., non-Aryan, persisted, traditionally at least, to a much later date than Buddha. Then, we have to note Buddha's throwing overboard completely the Vedic sacrifice. Krishna Vāsudeva who was a reformer too, before Buddha, in the 10th century B.C., substituted the cultivation of moral virtues for Vedic sacrifices, but he did not seek to suppress the time-honoured Aryan religious usages. Further, Buddha was democratic and he did not want his teachings to be confined

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to the sacred or literary language of the Brahmans who retained their allegiance to the Vedas—he wanted his message to reach all and sundry in their own languages.

It may be questioned if the response given to the teachings of the Buddha by the Mongoloid peoples of South-eastern Asia and of Tibet, Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan had something racial behind it—at least partially.

Moreover, when already in the Vedas (*Yajurveda* and *Atharva-vēda*) the Kirātas or Indo-Mongoloids of the hills are known, it would not be unreasonable to assume further that there was a likelihood of the Aryan-speaking followers of the Vedic religion and the Mongoloids with their primitive religion influencing each other in certain aspects of their religious and social life. The elaborate nature of later Vedic age sacrifices when sheep, goats, cows or oxen and horses were killed, sacrifices which took up days and in which the householder and his wife had to take part in a strictly ordered sequence of the ceremonial, show a strange agreement in both form and spirit with the elaborate ceremonial of 'the feasts of merit' like the 'bull-killing' sacrifice and 'the *mithan* or wild bison killing' sacrifice as is still in use among the Ao Nagas (cf. *The Ao Nagas* by J. P. Mills, London, 1926, pp. 370ff.). The resemblances between the Vedic *Sūla-garya* sacrifice and the Ao Naga *mithan* sacrifice are striking: the animal was killed in each by means of a sharp stake of wood piercing its heart. It has not yet been established if like the Ao Nagas and other Naga tribes, and also like the Kukis and some of the North Assam tribes like the Abors, other Indo-Mongoloids like the Bodos had ever had similar elaborate animal sacrifices; but it is exceedingly probable they had. The Newars, in spite of their Buddhism, have never abandoned their elaborate and very cruel method of sacrificing buffaloes, and animal sacrifices by the Bodos and other Indo-Mongoloids have continued down to our times. The Hindu Gorkhas in Nepal perform hecatombs of buffalo and goat sacrifices before the Śakti goddess during the second day of the Durgā Pūjā particularly, and similar goat and buffalo sacrifices in Bengal and Assam before Durgā and Kālī have no Aryan basis or background; and these may be an inheritance from the Indo-Mongoloids. Only the method of killing the animal by decapitation at one blow, may have been a Hindu (but *not* Aryan) innovation. The elaboration of these animal sacrifices in the later Vedic age on a scale not known to the Indo-European peoples outside India appears to have developed within India, and there was always a strain of protest even in Aryan-speaking society against it all. Some influence of a submerged Indo-Mongoloid element in this matter, emanating from the sub-Himalayan tracts in Northern India and in Eastern India, is not unlikely.

The following points in the Naga and Kuki ideology show a noticeable agreement with the Aryan sentiments and practice in the matter. Among both the Kukis and the Nagas 'a very prominent and important place is always given to the wife of a man performing sacrificial ceremonies. Indeed, a Naga widower would be unqualified to perform a feast of social status.' Then, again, the Nagas and the Kukis have a series of 'graded "Feasts of Merit" by which the individual celebrates and reinforces his prosperity and attempts to infect with it the whole community.' (Observations of Dr. J. H. Hutton in N. E. Parry's work on the *Lakhers*, London, 1932, pp. xii, xiii.) At the present day, similar 'Feasts of Merit' are current among the Hindus of Bengal in the shape of the *Durgā-pūjā*, the *Kālī-pūjā* and other festivals mostly Śākta and some Vaishnava, and among the Musalmans in the form of *Milād Sharīfs*, in which the entire community is asked to participate in the house of the person who holds these 'feasts'.

In the philosophical development of Brahmanism, the most noteworthy things are the ideas of *Karma* and *Samsāra* (the effect of one's actions and transmigration of the soul), which are to be taken together. The Indo-Europeans did not develop ideas like those connoted by *Karma* and *Samsāra*, to start with. The Indo-European notions of life after death we find among the Vedic Aryans, the Greeks, the Germanic peoples, and others. These centre round a *Pitṛ-lōka* or an Elysium or a Valhalla, a place for heroes and good men and the fathers and ancestors who of course were both good men and heroes. The moral basis of the law of *Karma* and of metempsychosis was not yet developed among the primitive Indo-Aryans when they came to India. But in India, contact and commingling with the Dravidians and the Austriacs and then with the Indo-Mongoloids brought in a new conception—a synthesis, in this matter, in the spiritual perception of the descendants of the Aryans, pure and mixed; and the result was the doctrine of *Karma*, which appears to have become accepted among most classes of Indians during the first half of the first millennium B.C. The Mongoloid belief which is noticeable among many primitive tribes speaking Tibeto-Burman and other Sino-Tibetan languages in man possessing more souls than one may well have assisted in the evolution of the idea of metempsychosis in India.

In the story of the five Pāṇḍava brothers having married one wife in common, Draupadī, some have seen an influence of the Indo-Mongoloids, considering that fraternal polyandry is found among the Tibetan Mongoloids, and among the Hindus claiming to be Kshatriyas in the Simla Hills. Particularly we are reminded in this connexion that the Pāṇḍavas themselves were born in a polyandrous though supernatural atmosphere, and they passed their early life in the Himalayas, in a possible Indo-Mongoloid environment, in tracts where mixed Aryan and Indo-Mongoloid Khasas and other tribes had their origin and home. This particular matter remains an unsolved problem in Indo-Aryan legend and history, and considering the fact that racial mixture was quite common in the *Mahābhārata* period (i.e. c. 10th century B.C.), Indo-Mongoloid contact and influence here is not unlikely.

45. THE INDO-MONGOLOIDS IN NEPAL: THE NAME 'NEPAL' (NEPĀLA)

The *Mahābhārata* tradition makes Bhagadatta, a *Mleccha* or Indo-Mongoloid king of Western Assam, *Prāgyyōtiṣa* (later Kāmarūpa), participate with golden or yellow complexioned Kirāta and Cina warriors on the Kaurava side in the Kurukshetra battle and be killed by the Pāṇḍava hero Bhīma. Bhagadatta fought from an elephant, and the pre-eminence of Assam for elephants is well known. Leaving aside the possible but problematic connexion of an Indo-Mongoloid king like Bhagadatta with happenings in the heart of Aryavarta in the 10th century B.C., and the unsolved question of the Licchavis and other possibly Hinduised Mongoloid tribes of Eastern India in the 7th-6th century B.C., and also the Nepalese Mahayana Buddhist tradition of the Maurya emperor Asoka having visited Nepal and founded the city of Patan or Lalitapātana with its four stupas still intact, we first find ourselves on firmer ground about the Indo-Mongoloid doings in the Indian scene in Nepal in the 4th-5th century A.D., when we find that the great Gupta emperor Saṃudra-gupta obtained the homage of 'the frontier ruler of Nepal' (*pratyanta-Nepāla-nṛpati*), who in all likelihood belonged to the Śīrya-vamśī Licchavi clan, which was spread from Neṣāl to Bihar and the eastern United Provinces. An inscription of a king of this dynasty,

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that of Māna-deva, dating from c. 496 AD., has been found in the precincts of the Changu Narayana temple in Nepal valley.

The very late chronicles of Nepal, in the Tibeto-Burman Newari language, and in their Indo-Aryan Parbatiya or Gorkhali adaptations, represent a traditional school of Nepal history which was set up in the court of the Nepal (Newar) kings in the 14th century. These may have some germ of historicity in them, but they are on the whole generally unreliable. Various derivations of the name *Nepāl* (*Nepāla*) were proposed by the Pandits of Nepal in medieval times, both Buddhist and Brahman. It would appear, however, that the name came from that of a Tibeto-Burman speaking tribe, the ancestors of the present-day Newar people, and consists of two elements, a prefix *Ne-*, of uncertain meaning (it may be the name of some hero-king or priest among the tribe), and the proper tribal name *Pal* or *Bal*, the meaning of which in Newari is lost, although in Tibetan the word *bal* means 'wool'. The Tibetans call the Nepalīs, i.e., the Newaris particularly, *Bal-po*, i.e., 'the Bal-men'. (Cf. Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, Paris, 1905, Vol. I, pp. 66-68). It may also be questioned if *Pal-pa*, the name of the region immediately to the west of the Nepal valley, the home of the Newars, is connected with this *Pal* or *Bal*. *Ne-pal* became with the Sanskrit and Prakrit using Indians of North India *Nēpāla* during the period round about Christ, if not as early as the time of Asoka, or earlier still. Already in Kautilya's *Artha-Śāstra*, the original of which may go back to the 4th century B.C., we have mention of sheep's wool (*āvīkam*) blankets of Nepal make (*Nāipālikam*). (Cf. Radha-govinda Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, Calcutta, 1934, p. 239.) In Newari, the sounds of *r* and *l* interchange. Through later phonetic change, *Nepāl* became *Newār*, and in Modern Newari, the loss of the final *r* has further modified the name, particularly as the name of the Newar people, to *Newāh* or *Newā*.

46. EARLY DYNASTIES OF NEPAL: THE GOPĀLA OR ĀHĪRA KINGS: THE KIRĀTA KINGS WITH NON-ARYAN NAMES

According to these Newari chronicles—*Vaṃśāvalis* or 'Dynasty Lists', Nepal was inhabited and ruled over by tribes of 'Gopālas' and 'Ābhīras' or 'cowherds' in most ancient times, and names of a number of kings of these dynasties or tribes are given, names which are all in Sanskrit. (See Sylvain Lévi, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 72-73, 74). We do not know how to take these names. They probably refer in a vague way to Hinduised groups of mixed Austric and Dravidian and probably also Indo-Mongoloid speakers who were in occupation of Nepal valley prior to a wholesale influx of purer Mongoloids—the *Nepāl* or *Newār* people, probably sometime before the Christian era, who are known to the *Vaṃśāvalis* as *Kirātas*. Then came a line of *Kirāta* kings. The *Vaṃśāvalis* give some 26 or 29 names of these *Kirāta* kings. The possibility of some historicity subsisting behind the *Vaṃśāvalis* becomes a probability when we find that most of their names are non-Sanskritic, although they have not yet been identified with names or words in any Sino-Tibetan language. (Cf. the lists in Lévi, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 78-79: names like *Yalamba*, *Pambi* or *Pabi*, *Dhaskam*, *Balamba*, *Jitedāsti*, *Galiñja*, *Puška* or *Punchem*, *Thuñka* or *Thumu*, *Keñke*, *Gighri* or *Jeghri*, *Luk*, *Thor*, *Guñja*, *Kesu* or *Juśa*, *Suñgu*, *Sansa*, *Gunnaiñja*, *Khimbu*.) These *Kirāta* kings were undoubtedly preparing the way for Newar and other Indo-Mongoloid domination in the affairs of Nepal and for their fullest participation in the development of its Hindu (Buddhist or Brahmanical) culture in the centuries to come. The *Vaṃśāvalis* have sought to synchronise some of these *Kirāta* kings of Nepal with Indian Aryan kings, legendary

and historical: e.g. with the Pāṇḍavas, with Buddha and with Asoka. The Kirāta rulers had their capital at Gokarna in the north of the Nepal valley.

47. THE SOMA-VAMŚI AND SŪRYA-VAMŚI (LICCHAVI) KINGS OF NEPAL, FROM
BIHAR: AMŚU-VARMAN

The Kirātas were suppressed by a new dynasty, this time Hindu, which came from Bihar and conquered Nepal, establishing their capital in the extreme south of the valley at Godāvāri. They were a *Soma-vamśi* or Lunar line of kings, five in number; and after them we have the *Sūrya-vamśi* or Solar Licchavi dynasty, with whom the historical period of Nepal begins. We know something about the Licchavi kings of Nepal from their inscriptions and their coins: they ruled from c. 350 A.D. to the end of the 9th century A.D. The Caṅgu Nārāyaṇa Temple Pillar Inscription of *Māna-dēva* of this dynasty tells us something about the earlier kings. Buddhism and Brahmanism (Viṣṇu and Śiva worship) were their cults, and during their rule the Vaiṣṇava as well as Śaiva and Śākta shrines of Nepal came into prominence, by 650 A.D., particularly the shrine of Śiva Paśupati-nātha.

While the Licchavis were formally in power, Mahāsāmanta Amśu-varman of the Thākuri dynasty came into great prominence as *de facto* ruler of Nepal, during the first half of the 7th century A.D. Amśu-varman, in spite of his Sanskrit name, was in all likelihood of Indo-Mongoloid origin. During the first half of the 7th century, Northern India was ruled by Emperor Harsha-vardhana of Kanauj, and the Deccan by Pulikeśin Cālukya. In Tibet, during the same period, ruled the national hero-king of the Tibetans, Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, who had made Nepal his vassal. Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po married a daughter of Amśu-varman. This Nepal princess, probably Newar in race, married to a Tibetan king, was largely instrumental in converting her husband to the Buddhist faith, which led to the Tibetans as a people to become Buddhist, and later on to modify the Mahayana Buddhism of their adoption to Lamaism, or Lamaistic Buddhism, in the atmosphere of their original Bon religion.

The Licchavis regained their power shortly after the death of Amśu-varman and of Jishṇu-gupta, another chief who had stepped into the place of Amśu-varman after he had passed away. The cult of Matsyendra-nātha was introduced into Nepal in 657 A.D. during the reign of the Licchavi king Narendra-deva. In this way the specific Nepali character of Mahayana Buddhism was taking shape with its rites and festivals under the Licchavis. Soma-deva, first quarter of the 8th century, married into the Maukhari family of India, his queen Vatsa-devī being a daughter of the Maukhari king Bhoga-varman and a grand-daughter of Āditya-sena, a later Gupta king of Magadha (c. 672-73 A.D.) Soma-deva's son Jaya-deva married an Assam-North-Bengal princess, Rājyamati the daughter of Harsha-deva who is described as belonging to the royal house of Bhagadatta and as king of Gauda or North and West Bengal, Odra or North Orissa, Kalinga or South Orissa and the Telugu country and Kosala or Eastern Central Provinces and Central United Provinces. This Harsha-deva of the Nepal record is believed to be the same as the Śrī-Harsha mentioned in the Tejpur plate of Vana-mālā, and as Harsha-varman of the plate of Harjara, as a king of the Śāla-stambha dynasty of Assam (c. 650-800 A.D.). We have thus two of the important Hindu Mongoloid kingdoms in Northern and North-eastern India united by matrimony as early as the middle of the 8th century A.D. Similar intermarriages among the Indo-Mongoloid princely families have taken place later on.

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48. NEPAL IN THE 8TH-9TH CENTURIES: TIBETO-NEPALESE RELATIONS

We need not enter into details of Nepal history—the work of Sylvain Lévi and that of Hem Chandra Ray (*Dynastic History of North India*, Calcutta, 1931, Vol. I) have attempted to find out a path in the jungle presented by the *Vaṃśāvalis* on the one hand and the inscriptions and other positive historical references on the other. According to Tibetan and Chinese statements, the Tibetan kings are said to have been suzerains over Nepal throughout the 8th century. The Tibetans were in the height of their power in the 7th-8th century, from Nepal to Shen-si, and Ürumtsi and Kucha. In the Laganṭol inscription of king Śiva-datta of Nepal (? 714 A.D.), we find mention of a *Bhoṭṭa-viṣṭi* or a Tibetan tax or forced labour. Here we have perhaps the oldest employment of the term *Bhoṭa* (< *Bod* = Tibetan) in a Sanskrit document—barring the name of Thon-mi *Sambhoṭa* or 'the Good *Bhoṭa*', the Tibetan scholar contemporaneous with Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po who brought the Indian alphabet to Tibet and employed it for the Tibetan language.

There is other evidence of Tibetan overlordship in Nepal. During the second half of the 8th century, Jayāpiḍa, king of Kashmir, invaded Eastern India as far as Bengal, and he invaded Nepal, but the Nepal king Aramuḍi fought with him and took him prisoner, although Jayāpiḍa later escaped. Sylvain Lévi suggested that the Nepal king Aramuḍi was really a Tibetan—his name is not Sanskrit, 'its strange consonance may hide a Tibetan name' (Sylvain Lévi, *op. cit.*, II, p. 177). It could however be a local Indo-Mongoloid name: a conclusion that Aramuḍi was a Tibetan is perhaps not warranted from the assumption that the name is Tibetan. Tibet became torn by religious wars which started with the accession of king Glang-Darma in 838 who started a violent anti-Buddhist regime in favour of the pre-Buddhist Bon religion of the country. This led to the destruction of Tibetan power. According to Hem Chandra Ray, it was probably the assertion of the Nepalese and their throwing off the Tibetan yoke that was signalled by the foundation of a new era in Nepal from 879 A.D.

49. THE THĀKURI KINGS OF NEPAL, 9TH-12TH CENTURIES: NEPAL BECOMES CULTURALLY AN INTEGRAL PART OF INDIA

The Thākuri dynasty reigned in Nepal from the 9th to the end of the 12th century. In the 11th century, the line was bifurcated into the Thākuris of Nayākoṭ (1046-1197) and the Thākuris of Pāṭan (1080-1098). We do not get much positive information about the Thākuri kings of Nepal, except a few inscriptions and references from colophons of MSS. written or copied in Nepal, particularly during the 10th and 11th centuries. The Thākuri period was one of very close cultural connexion of Nepal with India (Bihar and Bengal) on the one hand, and with Tibet and China on the other. New towns were built, like Kāntipura (later Kāṭh-māṇḍō or Kāṭh-mārō = Kāṣṭha-māṇḍapa) and Sanku, and old towns were renovated, like Pāṭan. The plastic arts and trade flourished exceedingly, Sanskrit learning was greatly advanced, and the corpus of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature of the Mahāyāna school was copied and preserved in the monastery libraries (*bahals*, *lōls*) of Nepal. The latest developments of the Mahāyāna in Bengal and Bihar found a congenial soil in Nepal, and Nepalese scholars, Tibeto-Burman speakers, possibly mostly Newars, went to the Buddhist universities of India like Nālandā and Vikrama-śilā for higher studies. Indian scholars of note also would come to Nepal, like Vajra-kīrti (end of the 10th century), and Vāgīśvara-kīrti (1st half of the 11th century) who settled down in Nepal

to perform his Tantric *sādhana* or spiritual and ritualistic exercises. We hear of eminent Nepali scholars in India, like Ratna-kīrti, Vairocana and Kanāka-śrī; and Nepalese scholar monks like Pham-mthin and his brother Jñāna-vajra were great preachers of the Mahāyāna in Nepal. The Indo-Mongoloids of Nepal may be said to have found themselves as a distinctive section of the Indian people, sharing in and enriching the Brahman-Buddhist culture they adopted, from the time of the Thakuris. The outward paraphernalia of religion—the gorgeousness of ritual and ceremonial and processions (*yātrās*), etc., became established in the temple of many a deity in Nepal, Brahmanical or Buddhist, like the *yātrās* of Matsyendra-nātha, of Lokēśvara (=Avalōkitēśvara) and of Paśupati (=Śiva). The all-round development of cultural life in Nepal which was in full swing under the Thakuris entered its apogee under the Malla kings, Newars equally with the Thakuris, in the 17th century in Nepal. After the irruption of the Turks in Bihar and Bengal and their destruction of monasteries and temples and massacre of scholars and monks as at Nālandā, Nepal gave asylum to scholars and others fleeing the Muslim Turki terror with their books and their gods. This fresh and large-scale advent of refugee scholars and artists from India—Bihar and Bengal—gave rise to a sort of Renaissance in the artistic and religious life of Nepal from the 13th century onwards. The importance of the sacred places of Nepal also grew—Paśupatinātha-Guhyēśvarī and Caṅgu-nārāyaṇa attracted Hindus from India, and Svayambhū-nātha Buddhists from Tibet. The district of Palpa was then part of the Nepal kingdom. The scholarly world has to thank Newar scholars of this period for having kept up the study of Sanskrit all through and for having been largely responsible for the preservation for posterity of the Mahāyāna Buddhist literature in Sanskrit.

50. THE KARNĀṬAKA KINGS: THEIR CULTURAL CONTRIBUTION

A new royal dynasty with fresh cultural elements came to Nepal about the middle of the 12th century, when the Karnāṭa kings became established at Simrāon in Southern Nepal. The Karnāṭas were Marāṭhi or Kannada-speaking barons or military chiefs from the Deccan who followed the victorious arms of Vikramāditya the son of the Cālukya emperor Someśvara I (1040-1069 A.D.) into North-eastern India. Some of these carved out principalities for themselves in West Bengal and Bihar and elsewhere. The Śūras and the Senas of West Bengal were such Karnāṭa houses, and Nānya-deva who founded a dynasty in Mithilā and Nepal was one such Kannada chieftain. In certain matters, Newari and Buddhist Nepal came in touch with the Brahmanical culture of Dravidian Deccan, and we have to note the presence of a sacred place named Godāvarī in South Nepal, as well as the establishment of the shrine of Tulajā-mātā or Tāleju-mā, a Śakti goddess held in high esteem by the Newars, who later became the tutelary deity of the Malla (Newar) dynasty of Kāntipura (Kāthmāṇḍo) in the 17th century: the goddess was equally the specially worshipped deity of the Maithila dynasty started by Harisimha at Simrāon c. 1325 A.D. We have to note that Ambā Bhavānī of Tulajāpur in Hyderabad State is one of the most important Śākta shrines in the Deccan, and the great Śivāji, hero of the Hindu national revival, was a devotee of this deity in the 17th century. The institution of Deccan Brahmans (Mahārāṣṭriyas) as priests in charge of Paśupati-nātha was probably a direct result of this Karnāṭaka connexion. The Karnāṭaka rule did not extend beyond the first quarter of the 14th century. By that time a new dynasty, a national one for the Newars of Nepal, established itself, after one of the earlier founders of this new line.

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Jayasthiti-malla, had married Rājalla-devī, a princess of the Karnāṭaka house.

51. THE MALLA KINGS OF NEPAL, TO 1768 A.D.

This was the Malla dynasty, which, in its three branches, ruled Nepal valley up to the conquest of the country by the Gorkhas, a virile group of Brahmanised, and mixed Mongoloids with Brahman and Kshatriya upper classes from the plains whose leading houses were admitted to be of Rajput blood. The Mallas, however, were related to the Licchavis, and they were in all likelihood a mixed Indian and Indo-Mongoloid people speaking the Tibeto-Burman Newari language, but cultivating at the same time Sanskrit and the advanced Aryan languages which were contiguous to Nepal—Maithili and Bengali and Kosali or Eastern Hindi, and the earlier Apabhramśa. The Mallas appear originally to have belonged to the tracts to the west of Nepal valley. The chief source of our knowledge about the Malla kings are the *Vamśāvalī* chronicles, which for the Malla period would appear to be largely authentic. These chronicles (e.g. the one translated by Daniel Wright from a Parbatiya or Gorkhali version) form delightful reading with their copious references to the religious and social conditions of the people.

We have names of a series of Malla rulers from Arimalla-deva (c. 1201 A.D.) to the middle of the 18th century. The highest achievements of the Newars as an Indo-Mongoloid people who had adopted both Buddhism and Brahmanism with Gangetic culture took place under the Mallas, particularly in the 17th century. After Yakṣa-malla's time, c. 1474 A.D., the single kingdom of Nepal was split up into four small states of Bhatgaon, Banapa, Kathmando and Patan. Thus divided, the Newars were unable to resist their racial kinsmen but religious and political foes the Gorkhas from West Nepal, and finally they succumbed to Gorkha power in 1768.

52. NEWAR CULTURE, PARTICULARLY UNDER THE MALLAS

The Newars were quite remarkable in many matters—particularly the plastic arts (painting, calligraphy, sculpture, bronze and metal casting, wood-carving and architecture, gem-cutting, etc.) and in textiles. It took them a little long to discover their own language and to write serious literature and inscriptions in it—in the second half of the 14th century. But they produced the oldest literature extant in any Sino-Tibetan language within the frontiers of India (the only rivals of Newari are Ahom and Manipuri). This literature was in quite a flourishing state in the 17th-18th centuries, but its stream almost dried up through neglect, apathy and persecution, particularly during the present century. It is indeed a great testimony to the vitality of Newari culture that in recent years, hand in hand with a revival of Buddhism under the inspiration of Ceylon and Bengal (with the discovery of the Hīnayāna form of the religion through the study of Pali by Newar scholars), a revival of literary effort in Newari has started, and this revival shows great promise: mention may be made of a very fine narrative poem named the *Sugata-Saurabha* on the life of Buddha in 19 cantos running up to 355 pages by Cittadhar Upāsaka 'Hrday' which has been published in 1948, with illustrations by a Newari artist Candramān Māske; and from Benares and Kalimpong, which have become centres of Newari literary activities, original works, religious and secular poems, stories and translations from the Pali and Sanskrit, are now steadily coming out. Long predominance of Sanskrit and of the Middle and New Indo-Aryan vernaculars—of Prakrit and Apabhramśa, and of Bengali,

Maithili, Kosali and latterly Parbatiya (or Khas-kura or Gorkhali) in the valley of Nepal, has imposed upon Newari its very large percentage of Aryan words, Sanskrit and vernacular Indo-Aryan. Newari has now come in line with the modern Indian languages (excepting Urdu) in going to Sanskrit for all its higher words. Newari was written in the local Nepal modification of the Kuṭila or Eastern form of the script current all over North India up to the 7th century—a script from which developed also the Maithili, Bengali-Assamese and Oriya alphabets. But as the Newari script was never put in type, Devanagari, in which Gorkhali or Parbatiya is written, is now employed in printing Newari books. So that one may say that Newari has entered into the community of script with Hindi, Gorkhali and Marathi, and Rajasthani and Maithili, and to some extent Panjabi also. The intimate culture of Sanskrit by the Newari monkish scholars (*Bāṣas* or *Vandras*) and lay scholars (*Vajrācāryas*) could only have a direct and a natural influence in shaping the orientation of the Newari speech towards Sanskrit.

In one respect, Newari stands apart from the general run of Indian languages, agreeing with the Ahom speech and with Assamese, viz. it has a valuable historical literature (the *Vamśavalis*). The *Buranjis* of Assam alone are comparable with the historical literature in Newari. It is remarkable how the art of writing historical works in prose originated among two of the chief Hinduised Indo-Mongoloid peoples of India—the Ahoms and the Newars.

The Newari drama was a polyglot affair; the oldest works go back to the first half of the 17th century. The subjects are from Hindu legend and semi-history. The dramas so far published give the prose portions in a corrupt Newarised Bengali or Kosali or Maithili, and the songs or verse portions are generally in Maithili. The stage directions are all in Newari. I have not seen any which is composed entirely in Newari. They are said to exist, but none has been published. Possibly the Newari-speaking king and his court entourage all understood the Indian Aryan languages, and it did not occur to them to cultivate the Newari entirely. Possibly it was fashionable to sport the more advanced Aryan languages of India. The technique of this drama appears to have been obtained directly from the Maithili drama, and it goes back in direct line to the *Gīta-gōvinda* of Jaya-deva, where narrative portions are in ordinary Sanskrit verse, and the songs are in rimed verse in Sanskrit, which look like having been originally in the Apabhraṃś or in Old Bengali. A. Conrady edited for the first time one of these Malla dramas, the *Harīścandra-nṛtyaṃ*, from Leipzig in 1893: subsequently a few more were published by the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad of Calcutta. The 15th-16th century Assamese drama with similar religious or legendary subjects, known as the *Ankiyā Nāṭ*, belongs to the same school, owing its inspiration to Mithila. The Nepal drama as it developed in the Malla courts shows the enormous influence of the Aryan languages on the literary life of the Newars in the 17th century, and possibly earlier still.

The Malla kings were great patrons of music, like the drama, and in this they resembled the Kārṇāṭaka and other kings of Mithila. Some of the Malla kings vaunted even in their coins of being expert poets or musicians (e.g. Jaya-yoga-narendra-Malla of Patan, c. 1688, who described himself in his coins as *Sanḡiāra-ava-pāraḡa* 'one who has crossed the ocean of music'; and Vira-Bhūpālendra-malla, Girindra-rāja-rājendra of Kantipur or Kathmando, c. 1700, who prided in the epithet *Kavindra-cūdāmani-samrāt* 'an emperor, the crest-jewel of chief poets': cf. E. H. Walsh, *The Coinage of Nepal*, JRAS., London, 1908, pp. 669-759).

In religion, the Newars were Mahāyāna Buddhists, but their kings (and following them the people in general also) were quite eclectic, Brahmanism

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and Buddhism being equally patronised by them. King Jayasthiti-malla (fourth quarter of the 14th century) brought some Māithil Brahmins from India, and on their advice divided Newar society into a number of castes and guilds on the model of Brahmanical Hindu society. Māithil, Bengali and United Provinces Brahmins were received with great honour in the Newar courts. These acted as a powerful force in maintaining a general Hindu orientation of Newar society—in spite of its Buddhist faith. King Siddhi-narasimha-malla of Patan (c. 1620–1657) built in front of the royal palace of Patan a gem of a stone temple to Krishna, and the eaves of the polygonal structure in two stories have a most delicate series of small high-relief friezes giving the story of the *Rāmāyana* and of the *Mahābhārata*, unique of its kind in India and testifying to the great devotion as well as artistic sense of the founder of the temple. King Siddhi-narasimha-malla is said to have lived the life of an ascetic, disciplining the flesh in all ways, and left his kingdom, evidently to pass away as a religious recluse. As a builder, he may be mentioned with his contemporaries in India—the Mogul Emperor Shāh Jahān, and the Tamil prince Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura.

The glory of the cultural achievement of the Newars can be also appraised from the beautiful buildings they created—palaces and temples and halls. The distinctive Newar style of temple architecture should be studied historically with similar types of buildings—the Chinese pagoda of many stories, and the Travancore and Cochin temples in wood and stone. These structures in their rose-pink brick-work, and their marvellous wood carvings (mostly mellowed by age and by paint into a black colour) and burnished bronze or copper or brass reliefs and furnishings form veritable architectural gems. The Darbar Squares at Patan, Kathmando and Bhatgaon form priceless museums of Newar architecture, and for their beauty these architectural shrines can be mentioned with some of the most famous groups of medieval buildings in the West, e.g. the Grand-Place Square of Brussels. A visit to these places will more than anything convince anyone of the artistic qualities of this gifted Indo-Mongoloid people. The new Darbar Hall decorated by Newar artists which has been built by Maharaja Joodha Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana some years ago in Kathmando is eloquently expressive of Newar artistic skill even at the present day.

The Malla kings developed in the 17th century a very characteristic aniconic style of coins in silver, with Tantric and other symbolic designs of a geometrical character, and Sanskrit legends giving the names and titles of the rulers and sometimes of their queens, as well as invocations to particular divinities, in beautiful Newari writing. Most of these coins are very beautiful, and they present a remarkable series of artistic designs in the world's coinage. (See E. H. Walsh, *The Coinage of Nepal*, JRAS., London, 1908, where a good survey of the achievement of the Newar and other peoples of Nepal in this direction will be found, with full illustrations.)

53. THE GORKHAS IN NEPAL: GORKHA VALOUR AND MILITARY VIRTUES

But with their high material culture and their artistic achievement, the Newars developed neither great fighting qualities nor political wisdom or foresight. They fell an easy prey to the Gorkhas, who, after conquering the Nepal valley from the Newars in 1768, inaugurated a new era for Nepal. The Gorkhas, in so far as they represent the ruling classes among the warlike peoples of Nepal, particularly of Western Nepal, show a considerable amount of Rajput and Brahman elements. But there are among the fighting classes of Nepal, who are all loosely classed as *Gorkhas* in India and abroad, large

masses of pure Indo-Mongoloids who even now speak their Tibeto-Burman (Himalayan) dialects. They are even loosely described as, or are tolerated when they describe themselves as Kshatriyas: e.g. the Magars and Gurungs, who in spite of their Tibeto-Burman language have rapidly been transformed into orthodox Hindus, and the Limbus, the Rais, the Tamans and others. The organisation and discipline of the original Gorkha ruling houses headed by the *Sāh* family which gave to Nepal its Gorkha conqueror Prithwi-nārāyaṇa Sāh and the present reigning house, and the family of the *Rānās* which furnish the *de facto* rulers of Nepal, have made the Hindus and the Hinduised Indo-Mongoloids of Nepal one of the finest military races of the world. The courage and military virtues of the 'Gorkhas' in their totality have been demonstrated over and over again; and these qualities have been made the fullest use of by the English in India who employed Gorkha troops in many a theatre of war. Gorkha valour has won 10 of the 31 Victoria Crosses awarded to members of the Indian army for conspicuous gallantry during the Second World War. But the ruling Gorkhas are a very conservative people who have looked askance at progress in the shape of emancipating the masses, and barring an impetus given to the development of literature in the Gorkhali (Parbatiya or Khas-kura) language (which, officially known as *Nepali*, is the first language of the State and is spreading rapidly among all Tibeto-Burman speaking tribes, who are receiving through this Nepali a common medium of intercourse), and the opening of some hydroelectrical and other mechanical schemes and arms factories, the main contribution of the Gorkha to the culture of Nepal has been the *khukri*, the curved knife symbolical of Gorkha and Nepali military prowess. This military valour of the pure and mixed Indo-Mongoloids of Nepal is not the least among the achievements of the Indian people as a whole in modern times.

54. THE INDO-MONGOLOIDS IN ASSAM AND BENGAL: LINGUISTIC INFLUENCES

Kirāta or Indo-Mongoloid achievement in Nepal has been that of the 'Himalayan' tribes of the race, particularly the Newars who gave their name to the tract over 2,000 years ago. In Bengal and Assam, however, it was the four other groups of the Indo-Mongoloid people which flourished and which participated in the local history and in the development of the local culture: and they were the Bōḍos (in Koch Bihar and Tripura and in Kachar particularly), the Ahoms, the Khasis with their Austric Mon-Khmer tongue, and to some extent the Kukis or Kuki-Chins (the Meitheis of Manipur).

We now take up the story of the Indo-Mongoloids in Assam. Almost as much as, or even more than Nepal, Assam is the tract where the Indo-Mongoloid elements are present in their largest number in India. In Assam they dominated the scene, politically mostly, and to some extent culturally also (although in matters of culture, including religion, the composite Hindu culture of the Ganges valley has always had the outward victory). Excepting the members of a few of the higher castes from the west (and these are as much mixed Austric-Dravidian-Ārya as any), the masses of the people are Indo-Mongoloid with some Austric and Dravidian substratum. The Indo-Mongoloid inheritance therefore belongs in a special manner to the people of Assam as to the people of Nepal, irrespective of the Aryan language they may speak. In the development of the Aryan Assamese language (as much as of Khas-kura or Gorkhali, and to some extent of Bengali, particularly in its eastern dialects), the influence of the Bodo and Naga as

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well as the late Ahom languages is noticed. The Austric Khasi speech of the Indo-Mongoloid Khasis and Syntengs (Jaintias) has similarly influenced the contiguous Aryan. Prof. Banikanta Kakati in his valuable work *Assamese, its Formation and Development* (Gauhati, Assam, 1941) has discussed the matter, and has given lists of words and toponyms of Khasi (and other Austric) origin as well as Bodo and Ahom origin in Assamese (pp. 32-56). A good number of Assamese words of Indo-Mongoloid provenance are also to be found in Bengali. At least one syntactical device in Bengali and Assamese was due to Bodo influence, as it has been suggested by the late J. D. Anderson (in the pronounced preference for the conjunctive verb-form: see S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 1011). A close study of the evolution of Bengali and Assamese syntax, in comparison with the Bodo (and Khasi) speeches particularly, is sure to reveal further and surer points of contact between Indo-Aryan and Indo-Mongoloid. The peculiar syntactical devices of Sylhet Bengali, for instance, which mark the dialect off from Standard Bengali, have also to be taken note of.

In Assam, the following matters in phonetics are suggestive of Tibeto-Burman (Bodo) influence: (i) Loss of distinction between the cerebrals (retroflex sounds, cacuminals) and pure dentals, both of these being substituted by alveolars (teeth-ridge sounds); (ii) the dentalisation of the palatal affricates—of *c*, *ch* to *s*, and of *j*, *jh* to *z* (in recent Assamese, *ch* > *s* has become *ś*); and (iii) the change of *s* to *h*, and then to *x*, the guttural unvoiced spirant, like the Persian sound as in *Khudā* (= *xudā*), *khush* (= *xuš*), etc. These novel pronunciations were introduced into the Aryan Assamese when it was being adopted by Indo-Mongoloid peoples who were abandoning their own dialects hundreds and hundreds of years ago. Prof. Kakati has noted two formative affixes in Assamese as being of Bodo origin (*op. cit.*, pp. 50-51). The use of the post-positional pronominal affixes to indicate ownership or connexion in the case of some words of relationship which is so characteristic of Assamese (cf. Assamese *bopāi* = 'my father', *bāper* = 'thy father', *bāperā* = 'your father', *bāpek* = 'his father'; so *āi*, *mār*, *mārā*, *māk* = 'my mother, thy mother, your mother, his mother' respectively) is believed to be due to Tibeto-Burman (Bodo) influence, although other explanations have been proposed (cf. *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, § 724; *Assamese, its Formation and Development*, pp. 270ff.). It is exceedingly likely that further points of agreement between the Indo-Aryan speeches of the East (Bengali, Assamese, Parbatiya, Maithili, etc.) and the dialects spoken by the Indo-Mongoloids will come out with closer enquiry.

55. EARLY CONTACT BETWEEN ASSAM AND NORTH INDIA

The Indo-Mongoloid background of Assam ethnology and history and culture is pretty clear from the earliest times. Traditionally the *Mahābhārata* happenings are contemporaneous with the compilation of the Vedas by Kṛishna Dvaipāyana Veda-vyāsa. About the middle of the 10th century B.C., as we have seen (§ 14), has been proposed as the date of the Kurukshetra battle round which the great epic centres. Bhagadatta the king of Prāgijyotisha or Western Assam took part in this battle, as the *Mahābhārata* tells us. He is described as a *Mleccha* king—a king of the barbarians or a barbarian ruler himself: he was followed by troops of Kirāta and Cina race. He is the earliest ruler of Assam of whom we have any reference in tradition. According to later legends, he was the son of Nāraka Asura, who was born of Viṣṇu and Pṛthivī, the Earth Goddess. From Bhagadatta

of the *Mahābhārata*, c. 950 B.C., except for the mention of Kāmarūpa as a vassal frontier state under the Gupta emperors (c. 400 A.D.), we have no definite information about Assam and its rulers right up to the middle of the 7th century A.D. (c. 640 A.D.), when we obtain some facts from the Duli and Nidhanpur (Sylhet) copper-plates of king (Kumāra) Bhāskara-varman, a contemporary of Harsha-vardhana of Thaneswar and Kanauj, and of Hsuen Ts'ang the Chinese pilgrim. In these Sanskrit inscriptions we find a pedigree given of the family of Bhāskara-varman for some twelve generations. This pedigree may be quite authentic. It is mentioned that Bhagadatta's family ruled over Prāgjyotiṣa for 3,000 years. Then Pushya-varman came to the throne, and after him names of 10 kings and those of their queens are given, the 11th from Pushya-varman being Susthita-varman *alias* Śrī-Mṛ-gāṅka whose queen was Śyāma-devī. This king had two sons, who were both kings in this line—Supratīṣṭhita-varman or Susthira-varman, and Bhāskara-varman *alias* Bhāskara-dyuti or Kumāra. With 25 years for a generation, this line of 12 generations of kings would come up to 300 years: so roughly we have from 350 A.D. to 650 A.D. the line of Pushya-varman which regarded itself as being of the Bhagadatta family (the *Mahābhārata* tradition had evidently come to the Hinduised Indo-Mongoloids of Assam at least by the middle of the 4th century A.D., together with some accepted date for the *Mahābhārata* events as going back to something like 2650 B.C.) ruling over Assam. All the kings and queens of these inscriptions have Sanskrit names. It would appear that during 300 B.C. to 400 A.D., and probably round about the Christian era, Assam was getting to be known to the Hindu world of North India more intimately than before. *Prāgjyōtiṣa* and *Kāmarūpa* occur as names for Assam in the *Mahābhārata*, and already in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra-gupta the name of *Kāmarūpa* occurs as a frontier State.

56. PRE-ARYAN (INDO-MONGOLOID) TOPONOMY IN ASSAM: LAUHITYA, BRAHMAPUTRA, ETC.

The Brahmaputra river also came to be better known in the Hindu world outside Assam as *Lauhitya*, which would appear to be an Aryanisation, in Sanskrit, of the Indo-Mongoloid (Old Bodo?) name *Luhit* which is still the name of the easternmost branch of the river, now flanked by Mishmi (North Assamese), Singpho or Kachin (Burmese-Kuki-Lolo) and Khamti (Siamese-Chinese) speakers: but originally, the area of the Luhit river appears to have been inhabited by Bodo speakers. The *Dihang* is the name of the main channel of the Brahmaputra, the entire river is really Tsang-po-Dihang-Brahmaputra; the *Sesiri* and the *Dibang* are other branches from the north, while the *Luhit* is the main feeder from the east, which beyond the eastern frontiers of India, is known as the *Zayul*. Conceivably, the name *Luhit* at one time extended further to the west, for the entire river now known as Brahmaputra. In any case, in *Di-bang* and *Di-hang* we have the common Bodo element for water or river, *Ti* or *Di*. Other explanations for the name *Luhit* have been proposed, but these do not appear to be convincing: e.g. an Austric **Lao-tu*, or Bodo *Ti-lao* = 'clean water' (cf. Bani-kanta Kakati; *op. cit.*, p. 53; E. Gait, *History of Assam*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1926, p. 6).

The commoner name of the river, by which it is now generally known, viz. *Brahma-putra*, is certainly a Sanskritisation of some other Indo-Mongoloid name. A Bodo expression *Bhullam-buthur* has been suggested as the Indo-Mongoloid (Tibeto-Burman) basis of the word *Brahma-putra*, by Mr. Bishnu Rabha (*Asamiyā-Kṛṣṭi* or 'the Culture of Assam', Gauhati, 1947,

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p. 10), but this expression in Bodo has not been attested by me. Mr. Bishnu Rabha explains *Bhullam-buthur* as *kala-kala-nādinī*, i.e., 'making a gurgling noise'. **Burum-buttur* might very well be an intermediate form, before it was fully Sanskritised to *Brahma-putra*; and even at the present day the vernacular pronunciations of the Sanskrit word will approximate this *Burum-buttur*. *Brahma-putra* is comparatively a late name, later than *Lauhitya*. Similarly the name for the Ganges—*Gaṅgā*—would appear to be an Austric word meaning just 'river'.

The name of the shrine of the Great Mother at Kāmākhyā near Gauhati, which attained India-wide celebrity much later, probably after the erection of the present temple by king Nara-nārāyaṇa of Koch Bihar in the second half of the 16th century, is in all likelihood of pre-Aryan origin. This name has been explained by B. K. Kakati as being Austric in origin; so also the place-names *Kāma-rūpa*, *Kāmatā* and *Kamillā* (Comillah) (*op. cit.*, pp. 53-54). But it seems more probable that these names are Bodo, to start with, and are from a tribal name before they became associated with localities. There is an element *Kam* or *Kām* which occurs in all these names, which also occurred in the name of the most western tribe of the Bodos, the *Koches* (modern *Kôc*, *Kôc*, from an earlier **Kawôca* or **Kamoca*, Sanskritised as *Kambôja* in the 10th century in a North Bengal inscription: cf. *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, I, p. 69). Nagendra Nath Vasu in his *Social History of Kāmarūpa* (Calcutta, 1922, p. 176) has given a number of likely non-Aryan (Tibeto-Burman?) names from Assam and North Bengal inscriptions. These words refer to place-names and natural topography. Thus we may note the following: *Haruppa*, *nokka*, *josa*, *naukubā*, *chamikākachi*, *dijjinā*, *heṁsibā*, *koppā*, *diddesa*, *nauki*, *candenauki*, *diyambāra*, *hāpyoma*, *kuntavita*, *kamakuti*, *lākkhabā*, *digjuma* (river), *digdola*, *debbari*, *sobbaḍi*, *cammalā*, *nekkā*, *bādiḍjuratibhuḍi*, *abhañca*, *hakūka*, *thiasāsāḍobbi*, *cakkojana*, *diḍjamakkā*, *nokka-naḍā*, etc., etc. The meanings of the above cannot be known—some can only be guessed. Some of the words appear to be Austric (e.g. *cammalāyā*=*cammallā*, which I have sought to explain as an Austric word, as an old form of our New Indo-Aryan word for 'rice'—*cāwāl*, *cāmal*, *cāwal*, *cāul*, *cā'l*: cf. *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, Vol. 9, Part I, 1932, pp. 31-37). Others must be Indo-Mongoloid (Old Bodo). A few of these words, again, are Indo-Aryan (Prakrit, and Old Bengali-Assamese): e.g. *khagga*=*khaḍga*, Bengali-Assamese *khāg*= 'sharp reed'; *mākkhiyāna*=*makṣikānām*; *jaugalla*=*jaṭu* + *gal*=Bengali *jaṭu* and *gālī*, both meaning 'lac'; *go-santāra*= 'cow-swim, Ox-ford'; *pārani*= 'crossing'. Evidently by 1000 A.D., Bodo and Aryan were spoken side by side in the Assam and North Bengal plains.

57. BHĀSKARA-VARMAṆ OF KĀMARŪPA: THE GLORY OF HIS REIGN

Long before the time of Bhāskara-varmaṇ, i.e., before the first half of the 7th century A.D., and probably during the early days of the Gupta empire, Prāgjyotiṣa or Kāmarūpa had entered into the comity of Hindu states with her dynasty of Hinduised Indo-Mongoloid (probably Bodo) rulers. Bhāskara-varmaṇ was unquestionably one of the most remarkable men and rulers of his time—a worthy contemporary of Harsha-varḍhaṇa and of Hiuen Ts'ang. We obtain a good deal of information about him from his own inscriptions, the Dubi and Nidhanpur (Sylhet) copper-plate grants mentioned above, from the Sanskrit *Harṣa-carita* (a romantic biography of king Harsha-varḍhaṇa by his court-poet Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa), and from notices of him left by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim and scholar Hiuen Ts'ang, and from other Chinese sources. We need not go into details of his career and history.

He had the foresight to link Assam with the greatest contemporary ruler of North India, viz. Harsha-vardhana Śilāditya of Thaneshwar and Kanauj, whose friendship he obtained, being more an ally and a comrade than vassal; and this alliance with Harsha-vardhana was in all likelihood instrumental in obtaining for him an extension of his kingdom—he ruled not only over Western and Northern Assam (the Brahma-putra valley), but also probably over the Surma valley (Sylhet, where an inscription of his has been found), and he was able to annex Karna-suvarṇa in West Bengal. In his time, before the days of Nara-nārāyaṇa the Koch king of North Bengal and Assam, Assam's dominion extended over the greater part of Bengal. A Hinduised Indo-Mongoloid empire was thus achieved during the middle of the 7th century A.D. Bhāskara-varman was not a mere provincial ruler of a distant frontier kingdom, in North-eastern India. In 644 A.D. he visited Harsha-vardhana in his own realm in North India, and fully participated in the cultural and intellectual life of Hindu India of his time. He was a Brahmanical Hindu himself, but he had his friend and patron Harsha-vardhana's broadness of outlook. He was host to Hiuen Ts'ang whom he invited to his court in Kāmarūpa, when the latter was staying and studying in Nālandā. Hiuen Ts'ang accepted this invitation, and came to Kāmarūpa, and the description he has left of the place is the oldest that we have of Assam from any writer, Indian or foreign. Hiuen Ts'ang by mistake described Bhāskara-varman as a Brahman, but he was just a neo-Kshatriya, a member of a Hinduised *mleccha* or non-Hindu Indo-Mongoloid family which had been accepted within the fold of Hindu orthodoxy. The Mongoloid character of the people of the country is clearly noted by the Chinese writer: 'the men are of small stature and their complexion, a dark yellow: their language differs a little from that of Mid-India' (this differing 'a little' in Hiuen Ts'ang's parlance meant, however, really differing entirely: see *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, I, pp. 77-79). Hiuen Ts'ang knew that the eastern frontiers of Bhāskara-varman's kingdom were adjacent to the south-eastern frontiers of China. Communication between China and India (Assam) through the wild mountainous regions between the two countries was exceedingly difficult, being two months' march through pestilential jungles and high mountains, as Hiuen Ts'ang has noted. But it nevertheless did exist, and for centuries before the days of both Hiuen Ts'ang and Bhāskara-varman, as we know from the Chinese soldier-explorer in Central Asia in the 2nd century B.C., Chang K'ien (see *ante*, § 27), and from the Greek geographer and sailor from the 1st century A.D. (e.g. the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, and the geography of Ptolemy).

After 648 A.D., the Chinese, making the allied State of Nēpal their base, invaded India to avenge the insult done to the Chinese representatives who came to Harsha-vardhana's court after Harsha had died, and they defeated and captured the faithless minister of Harsha who had usurped his master's throne and treated with scant courtesy the envoys from China. In this conflict, Bhāskara-varman aided the Chinese with supplies of cattle, horses and accoutrements. Bhāskara was quite a wide-awake ruler, with an intelligent, international outlook in both politics and culture, which was rather rare in those days in all lands, and particularly in India. We may assume that as the ruler of a frontier state in India, adjoining areas within the purview of China, he encouraged Sino-Indian co-operation in commerce and culture. T'ang China and Sasanian Persia were the only great states in Asia with which India had direct contact in those days, and the direct contact with China was effected by the land route only through Assam. There was direct contact by the sea-route from Tāmralipti in Bengal and from the harbours in the Kāliṅga country and the Tamil land, and Hiuen

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Ts'ang himself had come from China by a round-about route through Central Asia. Evidently the Mongoloid kinship of the people of Assam with that of China and of the intermediate lands served as a link.

58. BHĀSKARA-VARMA AND CHINA: THE 'TAO-TEH-KING' OF LAO-TZŪ

From Chinese sources, we find interesting side-lights about Sino-Indian culture contacts through Assam and about the enlightened curiosity of the Indo-Mongoloid ruler of Assam Bhāskara-varman in matters relating to Chinese thought. In 619 A.D. a Chinese prince, a son of the T'ang emperor Kao-tsu, had defeated some rebels against 'the Son of Heaven', the Chinese emperor. A song was composed in celebration of the event, and in praise of the emperor of China. This song travelled to India (it was probably the melody only which came to India—the Chinese words could possibly not have come, but a translation of the song in some Tibeto-Burman language, it may be Old Bodo, might have also been current). Bhāskara-varman had taken note of this Chinese song, which was popular with his people; and when he saw Hiuen Ts'ang in 638 A.D. in his capital, he, on the testimony of Hiuen Ts'ang, told him as follows: 'At present in various states of India a song has been heard from some time called "the Music of the Conquests of Ts'in-wang (i.e., of the Prince or King of Ts'in)" of Mahācina (i.e., China Proper). All his subjects having their moral and material wants cared for by this ruler sing the song of Ts'in-wang's conquests, and this fine song has long been known (in Kāmarūpa)'. This narrative related by Hiuen Ts'ang shows how, in spite of the difficulties of communication between India and China in these days, a piece of music composed in China could find its way to India; and it testifies to some sort of cultural connexion between the two countries.

Bhāskara-varman was also curious to have precise information about the philosophy of Lao-tzū. Before the advent of Buddhism in China, the highest and the most profound expression of the mind and soul of China in philosophy and mysticism was through the doctrines of Lao-tzū, who lived, an elder contemporary of the other great philosopher of China, Confucius (K'ung-fu-tzū), about 600 B.C. Buddhism after its introduction into China was in close and generally sympathetic connexion with Taoism, the philosophy of Lao-tzū, and it borrowed some of its technical terms from Taoism. Taoist and Buddhist teachers read each others' scriptures, and Taoism was reorganised as a church and as a popular religion on the lines of Buddhism. Taoism in its general outlook is like the Vedānta of the early *Upaniṣads*, and the basic work of Taoism, the *Tao-teh-king*, attributed to the sage Lao-tzū himself, is comparable to the earlier *Upaniṣads* of India. The philosophy centres round the conception of the Ultimate Reality behind Life and the Universe as the 'Way' (the word *Tao* meaning 'way' in Chinese), which was like the Indian conception of the Unmanifest (*nir-guṇa*) and the Manifest (*sa-guṇa*) *Brahman*: 'the Way', as a philosophical conception, lays stress on the inevitability of things in life as a manifestation of the inner principle of existence. The Chinese pilgrim-scholars who came to India and studied Indian philosophy must have been impressed by the agreements between Taoism and the Vedānta, and they were, many of them, well-versed in the literature of Taoism. Already about 520 A.D., over a hundred years before Hiuen Ts'ang and Bhāskara-varman, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Song-yun had discoursed on Lao-tzū and his great expositor Chuang-tzū (4th century B.C.) before the King of Udyāna in the North-west frontier of India. Bhāskara-varman, too, it may be reasonably presumed, was also acquainted with Lao-tzū's philosophy through Hiuen

Ts'ang in 638 A.D., if not earlier through other sources. The curiosity of Bhāskara-varman was aroused, and when subsequently he met the Chinese envoys Wang Hsuan-tzū and Li Yi-piao who were sent to the court of Harsha-vardhana, he asked the latter to send him from China a Sanskrit translation of the *Tao-teh-king* and a portrait figure (picture or image) of Lao-tzū. Li Yi-piao had also spoken to Bhāskara about the doctrines of Lao-tzū and about the fact of his book not having come to India. Bhāskara-varman gave some valuable presents to the Chinese envoys, and sent to the Chinese emperor a map of his kingdom (including, evidently, the wide tract of country in Eastern India, Assam and Bengal both comprised, to impress the Chinese emperor of his power and importance). The mention of this map of the territories of Bhāskara is noteworthy: it shows a certain high standard of intellectual attainment in an Indo-Mongoloid Assam of the 7th century A.D. Li Yi-piao returned to China and reported to the emperor about the request of Bhāskara-varman in connexion with the *Tao-teh-king*; and the emperor at once appointed a board of Taoist and Buddhist scholars to prepare a Sanskrit translation of the Chinese work, Hsien Ts'ang as the most erudite Sanskritist of China taking a leading part in the discussions which preceded the work of the translation. Chinese documents giving an account of a learned and friendly controversy which started around the proper Sanskrit rendering of the Chinese word *Tao* have been found, and translated into French by Paul Pelliot (in the *T'oung Pao*, Leiden, Vol. XIII, 1912, pp. 381ff.). Hsien Ts'ang suggested that the proper word for *Tao* was *mīrga* in Sanskrit, but the Taoist scholars, who were conversant with Buddhism, thought that *bōdhi* was the correct word. (It seems that the proper word in Sanskrit to render the word *Tao* of Chinese in both its literal and philosophical sense is *Rta*—*Rta* in the Vedas and the Upanishads indicating the Cosmic Order, the Law or Principle centering in Being, and this word appears to have indicated also 'the Way', being derived from the root *r* 'to go'—*Rta* being 'that through which things go or move'). It is not known whether the translation (which was completed apparently) was ever received by Bhāskara-varman. In any case, it is a stimulating story of intellectual fellowship between China and India in the early medieval times, and it centres round an enlightened Indo-Mongoloid prince of Eastern India.

59. BHĀSKARA-VARMAN'S PRESENTS TO HARSHA-VARDHANA

The material and intellectual culture of Assam in the days of Bhāskara-varman is brought out in a remarkable manner through the description by Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa of the presents sent by the king of Prāgjyotisha to his royal friend and sovereign lord Harsha-vardhana Śīlāditya when the latter ascended the throne after the death of his elder brother Rājya-vardhana. These presents were brought to Harsha by Bhāskara's confidential messenger Hamsa-vega. They included, in the first instance, a white silk umbrella, an ancient heir-loom in the family of Bhāskara, and there is an elaborate description of this wonderful creation of ancient Prāgjyotisha craftsmanship in the *Harṣa-carita*. The other presents were displayed and inspected by Harsha. To quote from the *Harṣa-carita* (in F. W. Thomas's translation, London, 1397, pp. 213ff.): 'Among them were famous ornaments inherited from Bhagadatta and other renowned kings, ornaments which crimsoned the heavenly spaces with the light of the finest gems: the prime of sheeny crest jewels: pearl necklaces which seemed the source of the Milk Ocean's whiteness: silken towels pure as the autumn moon's light, rolled up in baskets of variously coloured reeds: quantities of pearl, shell, sapphire,

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and other drinking vessels, embossed by skilful artists: loads of Kārdaraṅga leather bucklers with charming borders, bright gold-leaf work winding about them, and cases to preserve their colour: soft loin-cloths smooth as birch-bark: pillows of *Sāmūruka* (a kind of deer) leather, and other kinds of smooth figured textures: cane stools with the bark yellow as the ear of the millet: volumes of fine writing with leaves made from aloe bark and of the hue of the ripe pink cucumber: luscious milky betel-nut fruit, hanging from its sprays and green as young *hārīta* doves: thick bamboo tubes containing mango sap and black aloes oil, and fenced round with sheaths of *kāpōtikā* leaves, tawny as an angry ape's cheeks: bundles contained in sacks of woven silk and consisting of black aloe dark as pounded collyrium, *Goçirṣa* sandal stealing the fiercest inflammation away, camphor cool, pure, and white as bits of ice: scent bags of musk oxen, *kakkōla* sprays, clove flower bunches, and nutmeg clusters, all bristling with masses of ripe fruit: cups of *ullaka* (a fruit-juice? a kind of decoction?), diffusing a fragrance of the sweetest wine: heaps of black and white chowries: carved boxes of panels for painting, with brushes and gourds attached: curious pairs of *kinnaras*, orang-outangs (*vana-mānuṣa*), *jivāñjivaka* birds, and mermen (*jala-mānuṣa*) with necks bound in golden fetters: musk deer scenting the space all round them with their perfume: female *camara* deer (=yak cows), used to running about the house: parrots, *çārikās*, and other birds enclosed in gold-painted bamboo cages and chattering copious wit: partridges in cages of coral: and rings of hippopotamus (*jala-hastin*) ivory, encrusted with rows of huge pearls from the brows of elephants'.

The above list of presents enumerates some of the most remarkable artistic and economic products of Assam. Fine silks and various kinds of silk weave, and books on aloe bark, as well as cane and bamboo work and ivory ornaments, were the artistic crafts in which Assam excelled then as now.

60. THE 'MLECCHA' DYNASTY OF ŚĀLA-STAMBHA IN ASSAM

It appears that after Bhāskara-varman's demise his family or line was supplanted by another dynasty, equally Indo-Mongoloid in origin, which ruled Assam roughly from 650 to 800 A.D. This is the dynasty of Śāla-stambha, who is described in an inscription of king Ratnapāla of a subsequent dynasty (the Bargaon copper-plate grant of this king, dating from the first half of the 11th century) as a *Mleccha* or non-Hindu overlord (*mlecchādhinātha*). From the inscriptional evidence from various sides, it would appear that the line started by Śāla-stambha had some 20 kings, names of some of whom have been given in the various inscriptions, namely, Vighraha-stambha, Kumāra, Vajra-deva and Harisha or Harsha-varman. It appears that the daughter of Harsha-varman or Harisha of this dynasty, Rājyamati, was married to King Jaya-deva Para-cakra-kāma of Nepal, as mentioned in the Paśupati inscription in Nepal dated c. 748 A.D. (see § 47 ante). In the Nepal inscription, Harsha-varman, or Harisha of the Assam records, has been described as Śri Harsha-deva, *Gaud-Ôdrādi-Kaliṅga-Kōsala-pati*, and Rājyamati has been called *Bhagadatta-rājakula-jā*: this would suggest that by the middle of the 8th century, the line of Śāla-stambha claimed to be or was regarded as being descended from the renowned hero from Assam mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. But the distinct mention of Śāla-stambha as being a lord of the Mlecchas, as in the Bargaon copper-plate of the 11th century, would appear to make it clear that he was Bodo chief of the *Mēch* tribe (Sanskritised as *Mleccha*), who followed Bhāskara-varman in assuming the rulership of Assam.

61. THE DYNASTY OF PRĀLAMBHA

The next dynasty to follow in Assam was that of Prālambha. It is a moot question whether Prālambha started a new line entirely, or that he was a scion of the same family as that of Śāla-stambha, Professor Padmanath Bhattacharya supporting the latter view (cf. Hem Chandra Ray, *Dynastic History of North India*, Vol. I, pp. 241ff: Calcutta 1931). The Prālambha family, also undoubtedly Indo-Mongoloid (Bodo), ruled Assam from c. 800 A.D. to 1000 A.D., and we have six names of this line—Prālambha (queen Jivadā), Harjara (c. 830 A.D.; queen Tārā), Vanamāla (c. 875 A.D.), Jayamāla, Virabāhu (c. 900 A.D.; queen Ambā), Bala-varman (c. 925 A.D.), and finally Tyāga-simha (c. 1000 A.D.), who died without an heir, and after whom came the dynasty of the Pālas of Assam who ruled the province for a century (1000–1100 A.D.). The kings of the Prālambha dynasty were Śaivas, and they were instrumental in settling Brahmans in their realm. We have a few Sanskrit inscriptions of this dynasty. Harjara appears to be the most powerful king of this line, the real founder of it. His name is non-Aryan, and the 'ancestral camp' of the Prālambha line, their original seat, is mentioned as *Hāruppēśvara* in which word the element *Hārappa* is non-Aryan (Prof. B. K. Kakati has sought to explain *Hārappa* as an Austric word, see p. 54 of his work on *Assamese*: but this is extremely doubtful). These kings also claimed descent from Naraka (and Bhagadatta)—Harjara for instance is described as a scion of the line of kings descended from the Earth (alluding to the legend of Viṣṇu and the Earth-goddess being the parents of Naraka: *kṣīti-tanaya-nṛpati-vaṁśa*).

62. THE KĀMARŪPA PĀLAS: BRAHMA-PĀLA, HIS QUEEN KULA-DEVI:
RATNA-PĀLA

The Prālambha dynasty was followed by the Pāla dynasty of Assam. The first king of this line, Brahma-pāla, was equally an Indo-Mongoloid, and he is described in an inscription of his son Ratna-pāla as being a relative of Tyāga-simha of the preceding line, and a member of the *Bhauma* or Earth-born, i.e., pre-Aryan clan, of the dynasty of Naraka. It was by popular election that Brahma-pāla was made king: the people of the country thought it well that a Bhauma, a Son of the Earth, should be appointed as their lord, as the Bargaon inscription says. Herein we probably see self-determination by the local Indo-Mongoloid people of Assam. The names of the rulers of this dynasty all end in *pāla*; herein they would appear to be influenced by the powerful *Pāla* dynasty of the neighbouring Bengal and Bihar, although they were themselves of Assam Indo-Mongoloid origin. The marriage of Brahma-pāla is described in these democratic terms, suggestive of the simple manners of Indo-Mongoloid society. 'His desire being stimulated by the taste of the joys due to his prosperity, he married a young woman who by reason of her devotion to her people bore the name of Kula-devī, which is, as it were, the standing name for Lakshmi (or 'good fortune'), attainable by (all) rulers sprung from any (noble) family in the world'. Evidently here was no hankering for alliance with exalted 'Kshatriya' families of the West: king Brahma-pāla was content, after his elevation to the throne, to marry a young woman of the people. Ratna-pāla, the second king of this line, appears to have been a powerful and ambitious prince, who knew he might come in hostile contact with the kings of Gurjara (i.e., of Kanauj), of Gauḍa (i.e., Bengal), and of certain tracts in South India (Dākṣiṇātya or Deccan and Kerala or Malabar), and with the Bāhikas (i.e., Panjāb peoples) and the Tāḱas (i.e., Tājikas, the Turks who were making

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their presence felt in Western India). His capital city, known as Durjaya, probably ancient Gauhati, was a city of a thousand plastered turrets, adorned by learned men, religious preceptors and poets, encompassed by a rampart and a strong stockade, and rendered beautiful by the Lauhitya—as has been described in his Bargaon grant. Scholarly Brahmans like Prahāsa from Bālagrāma in Varendri or North Bengal (c. 1050 A.D.) made their home in Assam, and Sanskrit culture evidently received a fresh impetus from the Pālas of Kāmarūpa.

63. TIMGYA-DEVA, c. 1100 A.D.; VAIDYA-DEVA AND BUDHA-DEVA; THE LUNAR DYNASTY KINGS

The Kāmarūpa Pālas were staunch Śaivas. Towards the end of the 11th century, the power of the Kāmarūpa Pālas waned, and there is record of invasion of Assam by Jāta-varman, the Varman king of East Bengal. It seems likely that by 1100, the powerful Pālas of Bengal interfered in the affairs of Assam, and one Assam chief, whose relationship with the Kāmarūpa Pālas is not known, but who bears a non-Aryan sounding name (Timgya-deva) seems to have become king of Assam (c. 1100) with the approval of the Pāla king of Gauḍa and Magadha, Rāma-pāla—probably as a vassal of the Pālas. But Timgya-deva rebelled; and the Pāla king of Bengal, Kumāra-pāla (c. 1126–1130 A.D.), appointed his minister Vaidya-deva to the kingship of Kāmarūpa, and Vaidya-deva and his brother Budha-deva defeated and killed Timgya, and they ruled over Kāmarūpa as vassals of the Bengal Pālas probably up to the middle of the 12th century.

Vijaya-sena of West Bengal (c. 1097–1159 A.D.) and his grandson Lakshmaṇa-sena, the last Hindu king of West Bengal, attacked Kāmarūpa, the former probably defeating Vaidya-deva or his brother and the latter some ruler of a new dynasty called the *Candra-vaṃśa* or Lunar Dynasty which established itself in Assam during the second half of the 12th century. Names of four princes of this Lunar Dynasty have been found in an inscription of Vallabha-deva, son of Udaya-karṇa, who may have ruled about 1200 A.D. One of the rulers has a vernacular-sounding name, Rāyāri (=Rājārya?), and also a queen of this family, Ahiava-devī (=Avidhavā: cf. Middle Bengali *āiḥa, āiyya*), wife of Udaya-karṇa. They appear to have been Śaivas. It is not known what they were by race—pure Indo-Mongoloids or not. But from their vernacular names, we may assume that they spoke Old Assamese.

64. THE TURKI INVASION OF KĀMARŪPA

In 1205 A.D., the Turks under Muhammad ibn Bakhtiyār Khalji, after conquering North Bengal (Gauḍa) and West Bengal (Nōdīyah) in 1198 A.D., invaded Kāmarūpa, with a view to conquer Tibet. Their objective was evidently to control the rich trade between Tibet and beyond and North Bengal and Assam. According to Minhāj-u-s-Sirāj, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, the Persian history which narrates the conquest of Bengal by the Turks (compiled c. 1261 A.D.), Kāmarūpa was inhabited by the *Kwnc*, the *Myj* and the *Th'rw* (i.e., the *Kōc* or Koch, *Mēc* or Mech and *Tharū*) peoples, whose Mongoloid race and speech made a distinct impression upon the Turks, themselves also of the same race; for we read in the Persian history that these races had 'Turki countenances' (i.e., slanting eyes, snub noses, high cheek-bones and yellow complexion of the Mongols), and they spoke a 'different idiom' from the language of India proper. Whoever was the king of Kāmarūpa, he and his people gave a stiff fight,

and showed great skill in conducting the campaign; and the Turks were beaten back, being almost entirely annihilated. In the 13th century there was another serious attempt to conquer Kāmarūpa by the Turks, and although it was successful at first, the capital of Kāmarūpa being occupied by the Turks from Bengal, the Kāmarūpa king (to his east a new power and a formidable rival was arising, but nevertheless he was still an efficient soldier) attacked the invader Malik Ikhtiyāruddīn Yuzbak Tughril Khan and destroyed him and his army (1258 A.D.). Subsequent attempts on the part of the Mohammadan rulers of Bengal and North India to conquer Assam failed ultimately, in spite of initial successes, thanks primarily to the power and organisation of the Ahom rulers of the province, who came into the field early in the 13th century, and brought a fresh and a vigorous Mongoloid element in shaping the history of Assam and North-eastern India for the next five centuries.

65. THE COMING OF THE AHOMS

In the history of Assam and of the Assam-Bengal States of Koch Bihar, Kachar, Jaintia, Sylhet and Tippera, it would appear that it was mainly the Hinduised Indo-Mongoloids who took part in it, Brahmans and other purer Hindu elements hailing mostly from the West being numerically too small to take effective part in the local affairs; and the work of the Brahmans and other Hindus from the West settled in these parts was to act as a powerful leaven, in gradually bringing about a uniformity of religion and culture through Puranic Hinduism. The history of Assam from 1250 to 1700 A.D. was to some extent the history of a struggle between the original Indo-Mongoloid inhabitants of the country (mostly Bodo) and the newly arrived Ahoms who belonged to a distant branch of the same Sino-Tibetan stock. The Ahoms belonged to the Tai or Shan section of the Siamese-Chinese branch of the Sino-Tibetans. They arrived in Assam by way of North Burma, through the course of the Nôa Dihing river, at the beginning of the 13th century. Probably they were preceded by allied tribes—as they were followed by others, equally their kinsmen, e.g. the Khamtis. They had not yet accepted Buddhism, and followed their old animistic religion, although they had learned a modification of the Indian alphabet as used in Burma and Indo-China to write their own language.

66. AHOM VS. BODO IN ASSAM

When the Ahoms came into Assam, they met with at least two powerful Hinduised Bodo States, that of the Chutiyās in the extreme east, round about Sadiya, and that of the Dima-sa or Kacharis in the Dhansiri valley. The exact situation in Western Kāmarūpa is not known. Probably the Lunar Dynasty of Vallabha-deva, an Old Assamese-speaking dynasty which may or not have been of Bodo origin, was in power there. But it is exceedingly likely that in Kāmarūpa and the adjacent Kāmata Bihār and Koch Bihār, the Western Bodos—the great Koch tribe, were going strong; and it was undoubtedly Koch and Mech resistance (it may be under the leadership of the Lunar Dynasty) that brought disaster to the Turks. A branch of the Koches were undoubtedly the royal house of Khens or Khyans, which was ruling in Kāmarūpa up to 1498 A.D., when Nilāmbar, their last king, was overthrown by Husain Shāh of Bengal. After 1500 A.D., a great Koch chief and organiser took his rise, viz. Viśva-Simha; and his son Nara-nārāyaṇa and his house prevented the Ahoms from spreading their power in Western

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Assam during the greater part of the 16th century. Out of this struggle between the Tibeto-Burman Bodo and the Sino-Chinese or Thai Ahom, the Ahom emerged victorious. But by the time of this final triumph, the Ahom and the Bodo had both lost their nerve as independent peoples—they had both lost their language, or were fairly advanced on the way to lose it, and had merged into a single Aryan Assamese-speaking people in Assam.

The Chutiyas had probably been receiving earlier Thai or Ahom immigrants from the east, and they had become considerably intermixed with them. Their religion was a primitive kind of animism in which a great goddess to whom human sacrifices were offered obtained highest honour; and this goddess, known by her Assamese name *Kesī-khāiti* or 'the Eater of Raw Flesh', was identified with Kālī; and thus inclusion of the Chutiyas within the Hindu Brahmanical fold through Tantricism was rendered easy. They and the other Bodo tribe of the Morans, living by the Dibru river, were conquered by the Ahoms; and the Chutiyas were to some extent absorbed by the Ahoms. The Ahoms, it would appear, were forced to take wives from among their Bodo subjects, and it is thus likely that they approximated more and more with the original people. But it was certainly a clear indication of their being a real *Herrenvolk* in Assam, that they were able to keep their institutions intact, and even to improve them, and held on to their language for five centuries.

67. THE EARLY AHOM KINGS

Su-ka-pha (1228–1268), the first Ahom king of Eastern Assam, came with eight noblemen and his tribe of 9,000 men, women and children; and he had two elephants and 300 horses. This was the nucleus of Ahom power and the great Ahom army in Assam, that kept the troops of the Great Mogul at bay in the second half of the 17th century. Su-ka-pha's son and successor Su-teu-pha (1268–1281) forced the Bodo Kacharis to abandon the country to the east of the Dikhu river, and Ahom territories and Ahom power began to be extended and consolidated by the following kings. Su-khang-pha (1293–1332) left the Chutiyas and the Kacharis before fully conquering them, and tried his strength with the Western Bodos, the Koch Raja of Kamata, who later made peace by giving his daughter Rājani in marriage to Su-khang-pha. From the time of Su-dang-pha (1397–1407), whose mother was succoured by a Brahman when through a harem intrigue she was sent adrift on a raft in the Brahma-putra while she was pregnant, during the absence of her husband the Ahom king Tyāo-khamti in campaign against the Chutiyas (Tyāo-khamti being himself murdered in 1389), Brahmans came to have a great influence in the Ahom court, and with it the gradual complete Hinduisation of the Ahoms started. Su-dang-pha made war on the Koch rājā of Kamata as the latter refused to give up a chief who had incensed Su-dang-pha and who sought asylum with the latter; and the war was brought to a close by the Koch rājā giving to Su-dang-pha his daughter Bhājanī in marriage, together with presents of elephants, horses, gold and silver and slaves. Su-dang-pha died in 1407, and he brought all hostile or recalcitrant tribes allied to the Ahoms completely under his power.

The Nagas, who were in a very primitive state then as now, were a thorn on the side of the Ahoms, who waged fierce war on the former, although they did not try seriously to conquer them in their hills. In the reign of Su-hen-pha (1488–1493), the Nagas defeated Ahom forces; and the Ahoms were equally unsuccessful in a campaign against the Bodos of Kachar, whose king made peace on receiving an Ahom princess in marriage.

68. HINDUISATION OF THE AHOMS: AHOM GODS AND GODDESSES AND HINDU EQUIVALENTS

As a first step in Hinduising the Ahoms, their gods and their legends were in a loose way identified with Hindu gods and Hindu (Puranic) legends, so that both the Ahoms and the masses of the Hindus were made to feel that after all the religions and pantheons of the two peoples were essentially the same, the only difference being that of language and of emphasis. This of course is the right attitude to take when a synthesis is in view; and when we do not have a scriptural religion with a jealous God, which abrogates all truth and a special grace of the Divinity to itself and looks upon all other religions as so many forms of error or devilry which must be destroyed, that is, when we have a natural religion or religions which have arisen among the people without claiming an exclusive revelation or dispensation from God, this synthesis becomes easy. Thus, as we find in the *Asam Buranji* of Kashinath Tamuli Phukan, *Cheo-pha*, i.e., King of Heaven (*Svarga-dēva*) was identified with *Leng-dan* or *Indra*, and he was regarded as the progenitor of the Ahom kings, who came to be known as *Indra-vaṃśa* kings (side by side with the *Candra-vaṃśa* and *Sūrya-vaṃśa* kings of Hindudom); so *Ja-ching-pha* was identified with *Saraswatī*, *Lung-chāi-net* with *Vāyu*, *Khan-Khampha-pha* with *Devī* or *Śakti* or the Primeval Mother Goddess, *Khun-tun* with the Sun-god, and *Khun-bān* with the Moon-god, and *Lāu-khe* with *Viśvakarman*. The Ahoms it would appear were also sympathetic towards this kind of synthesis, and this made their Hinduisation easier, and inevitable.

69. THE LATER AHOM KINGS: HIGHEST GLORY OF THE AHOMS IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES: KINGS GADĀDHAR SIMHA (SU-PAT-PHA), 1681-1696, AND RUDRA SIMHA (SU-KHRUNG-PHA), 1696-1714.

King Su-hung-mung (1497-1539) first assumed a Sanskrit name, *Svarga Nārāyaṇa*, and this shows that the Ahoms had definitely declared their Hindu sympathies. He made his capital in the east by the Dihing river, and he punished the Nagas, who sent a daughter of a chief to the royal harem as a peace-offering. There was protracted war with the Chutiyas, whose king Dhīra Nārāyaṇa fought the Ahoms with varying success, in 1513, 1520 and 1523, and finally the Chutiya power was crushed for ever, although they revolted fruitlessly in 1527. War with the Kacharis also started, and there were campaigns in 1526 and 1531, when the Kachari capital Dimāpur was attacked. Su-hung-mung deposed the Kachari king Khunkhara and placed a nominee Detsung on the Kachari throne, and Detsung gave his sister in marriage to Su-hung-mung. In the meanwhile, the Mohammadans (Turks and Pathans) from Bengal had made a conquest of North Bengal where they consolidated their power, and attacked the territory of the Ahom king. From 1527 to 1532, the hostilities continued, but finally the Ahoms were victorious and the invaders expelled with great slaughter. Mohammadan prisoners were settled in Assam, and from this time we have a Mohammadan population in Assam. Su-hung-mung introduced firearms in the Ahom army after the Mohammadan war. The Nagas were also subdued (1536). Detsung, the king of the Kacharis, in spite of his relationship with Su-hung-mung, revolted against the Ahoms, and a fierce struggle ensued between the Ahoms and the Kacharis in which Detsung was taken prisoner and put to death, and the northern portion of the Kachari kingdom was annexed. Su-hung-mung received in 1537 a friendly visit from the Koch king Viśva Simha who had built up an independent Koch State in North Bengal wresting it from the Mohammadans; and he exchanged envoys presents with the king of Manipur. He was the greatest of the Ahom kings up to his time, but

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he was murdered at the instance of his son Su-klen-mung who had become estranged from him in 1539, after an eventful reign of 42-years.

The great Assamese reformer Śankara-deva was born during his reign. Su-hung-mung inclined to Hindu ways, but he was a good Ahom in following his ancestral religion and its practices, and the elaborate *Rikkhān* ceremony as enjoined by the Ahom religion he performed several times. The Hindu Śaka era was introduced, as the old Ahom system of calculating dates by the cycle of sixty years was rather cumbrous.

The parricide Su-klen-mung ruled from 1539 to 1552. He consolidated the Ahom conquests in Kachari territory, and engaged in a long war with the Koch king Nara-nārāyaṇa in which the Ahoms were not successful. This was a great tussle for power between these two sections of Indo-Mongoloids, and ultimately the Ahoms were successful, but, not, as has been said above, before they and their rivals had transformed themselves completely.

Su-klen-mung was the first Ahom king to issue coins in his own name. The legends were in Ahom language and script.

The war with the Koches continued unabated during the reign of his son Su-kham-pha (1552-1603). The Koch king Nara-nārāyaṇa had an able general in the person of his brother Sukla-dhwaj *alias* Cilā Rāy or the 'Kite King' (because of his swooping tactics in attacking), and peace was ultimately made, after the Ahoms had been hard pressed, through the intervention of the Mohammadan Sultan of Bengal. Su-kham-pha's long reign was punctuated by risings of local chiefs and tribes, and there were further wars with the Koches in 1563, 1570 and 1577. But finally, through a division of the Koch kingdom their power having weakened, the Koch rāja of the Eastern Koch State, Raghu-deva, made peace with Su-kham-pha in 1585 and gave a daughter in marriage to the latter.

Su-seng-phā or Pratāpa-simha, one of his sons, succeeded Su-kham-pha, and ruled for 38 years, up till 1641. During his reign there were protracted wars with the Mohammadans from the West and with the Kacharis within the frontiers of the State, and alliances with the Eastern Koch king. The Ahom State made a very great progress in all the domains of life. Brahman influences were on the increase, and non-Ahom Hindus began to take a greater share in the affairs of the State. The arts, and literature in Assamese began to flourish. The successful war with the Mohammadan invaders was no mean achievement. The border tribes like the Miris and Daflas in the North and the Nagas in the East were kept in check.

After Pratāpa-simha's death he was succeeded by two of his sons who ruled indifferently from 1641 to 1648, and then came to the throne Su-tam-la or Jaya-dhwaja Simha (1648-1663). He waged war against the Daflas, the Nagas and the Miris, and for the first time the Ahoms interfered in the affairs of the Hinduised Khasi (Jaintia) State. During Jaya-dhwaja's reign, war with the Mohammadans (this time the Moguls) began, and Mir Jumlah, the Mogul governor of Bengal, attacked Assam and pushed as far as and occupied Garhgāon, the Ahom capital. But the Ahoms put up a stiff fight, and what with the rains and with the determined resistance of the people Mir Jumlah was glad to make peace in January 1663 and return with his forces to Bengal, after annexing Assam as far as the Bharālī river. Jaya-dhwaja Simha first issued coins with Sanskrit legends in the Bengali-Assamese character, and the legends were in the style of that affected by the Koch kings beginning from Nara-nārāyaṇa.

Assamese and Ahom culture was at its height in the 17th century, and Mohammadan historians have testified to the beauty and magnificence of the wooden palaces of the Ahom kings at Garhgāon.

Hostilities were renewed by the Moguls in the reign of the next king, Su-pung-mung or Chakra-dhwaja Simha (1663-1669), and Chakra-dhwaja distinguished himself in this war, having conquered Gauhati and Pandu from the enemy. With fresh reinforcements, the Moguls made an attack in 1669, with a Hindu general Rāma Simha (the son of Rājā Jaya Simha of Amber) leading the attack on the Mogul side. The Moguls ultimately were forced to retire, and the Ahoms recovered Kām-rūp in 1671. During this campaign, the Ahom general Lāchit Barphukan distinguished himself. He got the better of the Mogul generals Saiyad Sana, Saiyad Firoz and Rāma Simha (who was supported by reinforcements sent by Aurangzeb under Sharif Khān), and won finally signal victory at Sarāighāt, which led to the close of hostilities in 1678.

Between 1669 and 1681, seven weak and incompetent kings sat on the Ahom throne, mostly the pawns in the hands of the nobles; and finally, in 1681, came to the throne Su-pāt-phā or Gadādhār Simha, who ruled until 1696. A great warrior and a strong king, who countenanced the Hindus but retained to the fullest his Ahom faith and Ahom ways, he finally drove the Moguls from Assam, besides organising successful punitive expeditions against the Miris and the Nagas. After his death his body was interred in the royal Ahom cemetery at Charaides, and the Ahom rites were followed at the funeral and after.

Gadādhār Simha, before he became king, was at one time a fugitive to save himself from the ruling king the *Lorā Rājā*, and his wife Jayamati Kuwārī was apprehended and tortured inhumanly to give information about her husband's whereabouts. This she refused to do, even when her husband himself came in secret and asked her to do so. She died, and became Assam's paragon devoted wife whose memory still lives.

Gadādhār Simha's son Rudra Simha, or Su-khrung-pha (1696-1714), was a great king, and a visionary who strove to form a confederacy of the Hindu States in Eastern India, including Tripurā, Koch Bihar, Morang or Mithila-Nepal (Newar) State, Vishnupur, Bādnagar or Rajshahi, and Burdwan, to fight the Mogul in Bengal and restore Hindu sovereignty in Eastern India. With this end in view he was preparing for war, and had actually taken the field against the Moguls in Bengal, when death cut him short. The secret letters he wrote to the Rājā of Tripurā and other Hindu states asking for their co-operation in saving 'the (Hindu) religion as set forth in the Vedas' from the aggression of the Moguls and other Muslims indicate his staunch Hindu nationalistic sentiments. He could have been a Sivāji for Eastern India—he wanted to push to its final end the work of clearing the country of the anti-Hindu Mohammadan power which his father had begun. He was withal a great patron of arts and letters, and had become a devoted Hindu, having sent Brahmans to Gaya to perform the *śrādh* of his father king Gadādhār Simha. Artists, artisans, musicians, dancers and architects, as well as scholars, were invited by him to Assam, and in general he had considerably raised the material culture of Assam. He had also conquered the Kachar and Jaintia kingdoms, and thus had made himself complete master of both the Brahma-putra valley and the Hill States to the south.

The apogee of the Indo-Mongoloid Ahom State was thus achieved by 1715. After this, we have a period of gradual decay of Ahom power, and their complete merging (along with the majority of the Bodo-speakers of the Assam valley) into an Assamese people, speaking the Aryan *Asamiyā* language. This history need not detain us.

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70. THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE AHOMS

The Ahoms unquestionably made a great contribution to the life and culture of Assam and Eastern India. They were not thinkers or dreamers—religion or philosophy or literature was not their *forte*. They appear not to have given anything worth mentioning in the domain of religion in the evolution of Hinduism in Assam. But as a practical people they gave to Assam a system of administration in which among other things the population was organised on a military basis, and this organisation enabled Assam to give the stiffest resistance to the several Mohammadan invasions quite successfully. Above all, the Ahoms were great soldiers, and they could train other peoples to fight beside them. They were open to ideas—they took to the use of the firearms and were able to succeed in it well, and they were eager to profit by the more advanced culture of the Bengalis and other westerners. They adopted the land-revenue system of the Moguls after it had once been introduced by them in West Assam. They had a sense of actualities—the historical sense: and they gave to Assam a unique thing in Indian literature—systematic chronicles of a country or a dynasty or an episode, in a series of history books written in Ahom, and then in Assamese, on the model of Ahom. In the formation of the *Buranji* style of history-writing, there might have been some indirect Chinese influence on Ahom; and in Assamese *Buranji* writing, it is to be looked into if the Indo-Persian histories had anything to do. Although a comparatively small ruling class, we cannot conceive of medieval and modern Assam without this remarkable Indo-Mongoloid people. They did a great deal to organise the people of Assam socially. In their work of consolidating the social organisation of Assam, the statesmanly minister of king Su-hung-mung, Momai Tāmuli Barbaruā (c. 1530) did great service. The very name of the province comes from that of the class which gave it a strong and quite a national government for well-nigh 600 years. The resistance given to the Turks, Afghans and Moguls in Assam under Ahom leadership is one of the most brilliant achievements of Hindu arms to preserve Hindu culture and religion in North-eastern India.

71. THE KOCH EMPIRE OF THE 16TH CENTURY: EARLY HISTORY OF THE BODO-KOCH TRIBE

The Koch empire under king Nara-nārāyaṇa and his brother Sukla-dhwaja during the second half of the 16th century is another great achievement of the Indo-Mongoloid Bodo people, and preparations for this climacteric were going on for some centuries before that age. If the assumption is warranted that the Licchavis, Koliyas and Vajjis or Vrijjis of North Bihar in the 6th century B.C. (see *ante*, § 30) were of Indo-Mongoloid origin, pure or mixed, then it is quite easy to think of North Bengal as much as Assam as having an Indo-Mongoloid population from quite early times. Brahman and other western Hindu settlements in North Bengal appear to have been scanty, and it has been mainly during the recent centuries that Brahmans and 'caste Hindus' have felt attracted to North Bengal districts like Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Rangpur, and the state of Koch Bihar. The masses of the North Bengal areas are very largely of Bodo origin, or mixed Austro-Dravidian-Mongoloid, where groups of peoples from lower Bengal and Bihar have penetrated among them. They can now mainly be described as Koch, i.e. Hinduised or semi-Hinduised Bodo who have abandoned their original Tibeto-Burman speech and have adopted the Northern dialect of Bengali (which has a close affinity with Assamese); and when they are a

little too conscious of their Hindu religion and culture and retain at the same time some vague memory of the glories of their people, particularly during the days of Viśva Simha and Nara-nārāyaṇa, they are proud to call themselves *Rāj-bāṃśīs* and to claim to be called *Kṣatriyyas*; yet they are quite content at the same time, for the sake of political advantages, to be classed as a 'scheduled caste,' among the lowly in Hindu society whose past disabilities are sought to be atoned for by giving them some special privileges now. Nothing much is definitely known about the Koches of North Bengal prior to the 16th century: they may be described as *Western Bodos*, an extension of the great Bodo race of Assam and East Bengal which at one time peopled the entire Assam valley from Sadiya right up to North Bengal, the Garo Hills, Maimansingh and Sylhet districts, Kachar district, and Tipperah (Comillah) district and Tripura State, forming a ring round the Austrie (Mon-Khmer) area of the Khasi and Jaintia hills and flanked in the east and south-east by their near kinsmen the Nagas and their distant cousins the Kuki-Chins. During the rule of the Pālas in Bengal (the Pālas as a house appear to be of Panjab origin—in any case they were ordinary North Indian Hindu, and not Indo-Mongoloid), with their capital at Gauḍ (Lakṣmānāvati), the Koches were gathering strength, and, like their kinsmen in Assam, had become, at least formally, Hinduised; and it would appear that by the middle of the 10th century A.D. they ousted the Pāla ruling house from Gauḍ and established themselves as rulers, at least in Northern Bengal. The short Bāṅgarh inscription in Sanskrit from Dinajpur giving a date 880 Śaka = 966 A.D. briefly states the erection of a temple to Śiva by a king of Gauḍa who was of the race of the Kambojas (*Kambōjān-vaya-Gauḍapati*). As R. C. Chanda suggests, *Kambōja* here can only mean the Koch people of the period (cf. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1931, Vol. I, pp. 308-309; S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926, Vol. I, p. 69). The present-day Bengali word is *Kōc*, or, rather *Kōc*, and this can well be from a middle Indo-Aryan source-form **Kaūōca* written **Kamōca*, which could be properly Sanskritised as *Kambōja*, as we noted before. A later Sanskritisation of the non-nasalised form of the name, *Kōca*, occurs in the *Yoginī-tantra* as *Kuvaca*. Another Sanskritised form of the name *Kōca*, viz. *Kuvācaka* (this of course gives good sense as 'Evil Speakers' or 'Bad Speakers' in Sanskrit), is found in the *Padma-purāṇa*, where certain disparaging statements about this people are made, showing how they were held in disrepute by the orthodox Brahmans:—

sarva-bhakṣya-ratā mūdhā mlēcchā gō-brahma-ghātakāḥ,
Kuvācakāḥ parē mlēcchā ēlē kūṭa-yōnayāḥ:
tēṣām pāiśācīkī bhāṣā, lōkacārō na vidyātē.

—*Padma-Purāṇa*, Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, Chap. 57, quoted by N. N. Vasu in his *Social History of Kāmarūpa*, Vol. I, Calcutta 1922, p. 71.

'These *Mlēcchas* or barbarians are accustomed to eat everything, they are idiotic, and they kill cows and Brahmans: these other *Mlēccha Kuvācakas* have their birth-place in the hills. Their language is of *piśūca* (demoniac) character, and they have no (good) social usage.'

There is thus no doubt that the reference is to the Koches before their Hinduisation, as a barbarous Tibeto-Burman-speaking Indo-Mongoloid people, who had not as yet any regard for the Brahmans and for the cow, and whose language had no meaning for the Aryan-speaking Hindus.

Here cannot be any question of the *Kambōja* tribe from North-western Panjab, known several centuries earlier, as coming to Bengal and conquering the Pālas and founding a new ruling house. The *Kambōja* or Koch-Bodo

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domination, however, did not last long—the Pāla king Mahīpāla I (c. 992–1040), from the evidence of the inscriptions, drove out the *Kambojas* and obtained back his paternal or ancestral sovereignty. But the fact of the Indo-Mongoloids assuming power over the mixed Hindu people of North Bengal indicates the organisation and vitality of these people as early as the 10th century. There was a serious set-back to Pāla power in Bengal, however, during the second half of the 11th century, when East and South Bengal became independent under the Candras and the Varmans, and in North Bengal another dynasty of Hinduised non-Aryan origin, that of the Kaivartas, was set up (c. 1080–1100), when three rulers of this line which drove the Pālas out of Gauḍa flourished—Divvoka, Rūdoka and Bhīma. The Pāla king Rāma-pāla (c. 1084–1126) with the help of friends and allies (*Sāmāntas*) mostly from West Bengal, Bihar and North Bengal, crushed the Kaivarta power and re-established Pāla rule, which endured after that for nearly a century. The exact racial affinity of these *Kaivartas* (Sanskritised from a Prakrit tribal name *Kēvaṭṭa*) is not known. The *Kēvaṭṭa-Kaivartas* are found mentioned in the Asoka inscriptions, evidently as an Eastern Indian people, whose humble calling (that of fishermen) indicated their non-Aryan origin. They were Austric, rather than Mongoloid, and in the Kaivarta upheaval in North Bengal, which was formidable enough, we have to see a successful though temporary rising of the submerged local pre-Aryan people against a Hindu-Buddhist ruling house of ultimate North Indian origin.

From the evidence of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, as given above (§ 64), it is clear that the Koches, Meches and Tharus, of pronounced Turkic or Mongoloid features and a distinct Sino-Tibetan speech, populated North Bengal early in the 13th century. The Eastern Bodos (Chutiya and Kacharis) and the Western Bodos (the Koches of Hajo and Kamata and of Koch Bihar) disputed the possession of the Brahma-putra valley with the Ahoms; and the Western Bodos asserted themselves against the decadent Pālas and Senas, and resisted the Mohammadans, during 1250 to 1500 A.D.

A number of Koch chieftainships or principalities appear to have been in occupation of the entire country from the Bharālī to the Tistā and Karatoyā rivers and beyond, probably also including Dinajpur district, during 1250 to 1500 A.D.. A dynasty of considerable power, the Khen or Khyan dynasty, established itself at Kamatapur in the first half of the 15th century, under a chief called Nila-dhwaja. He built his capital city, the ruins of which extending over a circumference of 19 miles are found by the Dharla river. Nila-dhwaja is said to have actively worked for the Hinduisation of his people, although he fought and overthrew the last scion of the Pāla family of Bengal. The Khens claim to be Kāyasthas, but it would appear they are Indo-Mongoloid in their affinity. Nila-dhwaja was succeeded by his son Cakra-dhwaja, and after him came his son Nilāmbara, who was quite an able and powerful ruler. But he was defeated and his kingdom was annexed by the Bengal Sultān Husain Shāh in 1498.

72. KING DANUJA-MARDANA-DEVA: AN EARLY KOCH PRINCE?

In 1416–1418 (Śaka years 1339–1340) ruled in Bengal a Hindu prince named Danuja-mardana Deva whose personality and exact position in the history of Bengal still remain a mystery. Five silver coins of him bearing the Śaka years 1339 and 1340 have been found, giving in Bengali characters his name *Śrī Danuja-mardana-dēva* on one side and the description *Śrī-Candī-carāṇa-parāyaṇa* 'devoted to the feet of Śrī-Candī', date and mint on the other. The mint-names are Pāṇḍu-naḡara (Pāṇḍua,

in Hughli district), Cātigrāma (Chittagong), and Svārṇa-grāma (Dacca), and they show that Danuja-mardana had the greater part of Bengal under his control for these two brief years. He has been sought to be identified with Rājā Kāns (*Kāśa* or *Kaṃśa*: the name is wrongly read as *Gāns* = *Gaṇēśa*) mentioned in Mohamadan histories, with the Vārendra Brahman chief of Bhātūria, with a Rājā Gaṇēśa of Dinājpur mentioned in some Bengali Vaishnava works, and with another king definitely named Danuja-mardana in another Bengal Vaishnava work, and further with a Kāyastha chief from North Bengal (see *Coins of Danujamardana-deva and Mahendra-deva, two Hindu kings of Bengal* by H. E. Stapleton, pp. 5ff., *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Numismatic Supplement, Sept. 1932, Vol. XXI, 1930, No. 2). He has been made to fit in with the history of the period, according to which his son was Yadu, or Jalāluddīn as he came to be known on his conversion to Islam. Danuja-mardana tried to effect a Hindu revival in Bengal: but his personality continues to be a problem. For aught we know, Danuja-mardana may have been just one of the North Bengal Koch chiefs who with his sturdy Koch *pāiks* created a diversion in favour of the Hindus by seizing the kingship of Bengal, repeating the feat of the Koch conquerors of the Bengal throne in the 10th century. The district of Dinājpur, the name being given as *Dināwāj* or *Danōj* (*Danūj*) in Persian histories, unquestionably preserves his name: a large principality thus came to be associated with him, and the people have remembered him in this way. As Rakhal Das Banerji had observed—for the first time after the conquest of North India by the Turks, Danuja-mardana was the only Hindu king who coined money in his own name, using the Sanskrit language, and his name ('the Crusher of the Demons') was probably a sobriquet taken by himself to celebrate his triumph over the Mohamadan who were the enemies of his faith. Mahendra-deva, who ruled after him for a year was probably his son, and he too issued coins in the same style as Danuja-mardana.

73. LEGENDS ON THE COINS OF THE INDEPENDENT HINDU (INDO-MONGO- LOID) KINGS OF EASTERN INDIA, FROM 1400 A.D.

One thing is noteworthy: the style of legend which Danuja-mardana adopted on his coins became the model for the Indo-Mongoloid rulers of North-eastern India after him, in the 16th century (the Koches) and the 17th (the Ahoms when they adopted Sanskrit legends on their coins), as well as the Kacharis, the Austrie-speaking Jaintias and the Tipras (slightly different, perhaps original, in the case of the Tipras). The coins of Nara-nārāyaṇa of Koch Bihar (c. 1540–1584), the first to coin money in his line, bore legends like the following: obverse—*Śrī-Śrīman-Nara-nārāyaṇasya-Śākē 1477* (=1555 A.D.); reverse—*Śrī-Śrī-Śiva-carāṇa-kamala-madhukarasya*. Jaya-dhwaja Simha *alias* Su-tam-la (1648–1663) was the first Ahom king who adopted Sanskrit legends, and in one of his coins we find the following: obverse, only title of the king—*Śrī-Śrī-Svarga-Nārāyaṇa-dēvasya Śākē 1570* (=1647 A.D.); reverse—*Śrī-Śrī-Hari-Hara-carāṇa-parāyaṇasya*. The subsequent Ahom kings followed styles which were reminiscent of both the Danuja-mardana coins as here, and of the Koch coins. The earliest coin of the Kachari kings known has the following legend: *Śrī-Śrī-Yaśōnārāyaṇa-dēva-bhūpālasya, Śākē 1505* (=1583 A.D.); reverse—*Hara-Gaurī-carāṇa-parāyaṇa: Hācēṅsa-vaṃśaja*. Similarly the oldest coin of the Jaintia kings, that of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, gives the following legend: *Śrī-Śrī-Jayṇti-pura-purandarasya: Śākē 1592* (=1619 A.D.); reverse—*Śrī-Śrī-Śiva-carāṇa-kamala-madhukarasya*. The oldest coin of Tripurā hitherto known is that of Dhanya-māṇikya (c. 1500). This is,

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however, slightly different in style: on one side are the names of both the king and his queen (a style later followed by some Ahom kings in the 18th century)—e.g. obverse—*Tripurēndra Śrī-Śrī-Dhanya-māṇikyā-Śrī-Kamālā-dēvyāu*, and reverse, figure of lion in conventional Bengal or East Indian style (the lion is the vehicle of Durgā), with the date *Śaka 1412 (=1500 A.D.)* below. Subsequently the Tripura kings brought in the names of their tutelary deities.

All these coins of the Indo-Mongoloid rulers of Koch Bihar, Assam, Kachar, the Jaintia Hills and Tripura of the 15th–18th centuries thus have a family resemblance, and in their Bengali-Assamese lettering and Sanskrit names they present a characteristic expression of Hindu Bengal-Assam culture under Mongoloid auspices. There is another coin of a similar type in the Indian Museum of Calcutta which has not yet been properly read: it undoubtedly belongs to some Indo-Mongoloid king of the 15th–16th century. (Cf. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. I, Oxford 1906, plate XXXI, figure 13; *Annual Report for 1913-14 of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Calcutta, 1917, pp. 248ff.: *Notes on Indian Numismatics*, by R. D. Banerji, plate LXIX.) I read the legend as (obverse) *Śrī-Śrī-Kāma-Vijaya-nārāyaṇa-Candī-carāṇa-parā-* (reverse)—*-yaṇa-Hari-Candramālāja-Madana-dēva*, with illegible dates (*1445 Śaka = 1523 A.D.?*) at the bottom of each side: the late Nalinikanta Bhattachāli (in a letter written to me on 2-2-1947, four days before his sudden and very greatly lamented death) proposed the following reading: (obverse)—*Śrī-Śrīkantha-Vijaya-nārāyaṇa-Candī-carāṇa-parā-* (reverse)—*yaṇa-śrī-cakra-mālāja Madana-dēva...* He declared his inability to read what I thought were the dates. Here we have a possible Indo-Mongoloid ruler of the 16th century whose name was.... *Vijaya-nārāyaṇa Madana-dēva*, and whose parents appear to have been named *Hari (Śrī?)* and *Candra (or Cakra)-mālā*: but he remains otherwise unknown and unidentified.

74. THE GREATEST PERIOD OF KOCH HISTORY: VIŚVA-SIMHA, NARA-NĀRĀYAṆA SIMHA, AND ŚUKLA-DHVAJA (CILĀ-RĀY), 16TH CENTURY

With the full Hinduisation of the Koches, and the rise in power of their chiefs, Kshatriya origin was, as was natural, found out or suggested for them. One powerful Koch chief Hārīā (whose name was Sanskritised to Hari-dāsa) was elected, according to the Koch chronicles in Assamese and Bengali, a sort of suzerain (*maṇḍala*) over all the Koch chiefs of the present-day Goalpara district of Assam. Hārīā had a son Biśu or Biśā, about whose birth a number of miraculous tales have grown up: he has been even described as the son of Śiva by a Koch woman, his real paternity being in this way exalted. Biśu or Biśā was the real founder of Koch power. He ruled from 1496 to 1533 (or 1540?) A.D., and he first made himself king of Kāmātā after conquering the local petty chiefs and expelling the Muslims who were in possession of the area. Biśu is said to have taken the Hindu name of Viśva-simha. He fought with the Ahoms also. Viśva-simha was a staunch patron of Hinduism. He himself was a worshipper of Śiva and Durgā, revived the Śakta shrine at Kāmākhyā, invited Brahmans to settle in his kingdom, and even sent two of his sons to be educated in Sanskrit at Benares. He organised his Koch and other subjects on a military basis like the Ahoms, and this was probably one of the secrets of his military prowess. He died, leaving, it is said, 19 sons, of whom eldest three were Nara-nārāyaṇa, Śukla-dhvaja and Nara-simha. Nara-simha usurped the throne during his elder brothers' absence at Benares when Viśva-simha died, but Nara-nārāyaṇa (who was known also as Malla-deva) and Śukla-dhvaja hurried back to their

homeland, and Nara-simha was driven out. Nara-simha eventually after some wanderings is said to have gone to Bhōtan, where he established himself as the local *rājā*.

From 1533 (or 1540), Nara-nārāyaṇa began his great career as a ruler and a conqueror, an organiser and a reformer; and in many respects (particularly through his patronage of Sanskrit learning) he was an ideal Hindu king. We need not go into details of his career—his wars with the Ahoms, his victories over Jaintia, Tippera and Sylhet kings (wars in which his brother Śukla-dhvaṇa, who was also known as *Cilā Rāy* or 'the Kite King' because of his 'Blitz' tactics, showed great generalship), his rebuilding of the temple of Kāmākhyā near Gauhati in 1563, his patronage of Vaishnava reformers, his temple and road building activities, and his long and prosperous reign of over 40 years. All this makes him one of the greatest kings of India, a worthy contemporary of Akbar, and a pre-eminent personage among Indo-Mongoloids. The English traveller Ralph Fitch visited the Koch country during Nara-nārāyaṇa's reign, and he speaks of the institution of hospitals for animals and of the aversion of the people to taking life, as well as of the abundance of cotton and silk cloth and of musk in the country. Evidently the neo-Vaishnavism of Śaṅkara-deva of Assam had made great progress among the people—at least among some sections of it. The part of the Koch country which Fitch visited bordered on Assam, and this was directly under Śukla-dhvaṇa, whom Fitch calls simply *Suckel Counse* (i.e., *Śukal* or *Śukla Kōc*)—evidently his people knew him by this plain name.

Nara-nārāyaṇa and Śukla-dhvaṇa, like the Ahom rulers patronising Brahmans and Hinduism, did a great deal to raise the cultural level of their people. Hinduism was the dominant religion, but the aboriginal beliefs and rites were allowed full scope, although these were becoming transformed under the ægis of Hinduism. He granted full permission for the maintenance of the Bodo (Kachari, Koch, Mech) rites and ceremonies over a particular tract of the realm, and appointed Kachari or Bodo priests (*deori*) to minister in some Kālī or Śakti temples; and to certain other temples he appointed Brahman priests. The Vishnu temple of Hagraṇva Nārāyaṇa at Hajo was restored by Nara-nārāyaṇa; and the Kāmākhyā temple, an old shrine of hoary antiquity, and of Mongoloid or possibly even earlier Austric origin, was built by the brothers. It witnessed the final Brahmanisation of a pre-Aryan cult: and it is so far the most remarkable Hindu religious structure in Assam. It is a symbol of the final Aryanisation or Hinduisation of the Indo-Mongoloids of North-eastern India.

Regarding the campaigns and conquests of Nara-nārāyaṇa and Śukla-dhvaṇa, there is no properly attested history, the Koch accounts and those on the Ahom side being often in conflict. But there is no doubt that the brothers built up a great kingdom, including a good deal of North Bengal, Western Assam, the Khasia and Jaintia Hills, Sylhet, and possibly also part of Tippera—quite an Empire of the East.

But this empire did not last long. It was divided between the sons of Śukla-dhvaṇa and of Nara-nārāyaṇa, and a single Koch kingdom was split up into two Koch States of Koch Hajo in Goalpara (Assam) and Koch Bihar in North Bengal. We are not concerned with the tedious tale of complicated fights between these two off-shoots of the Koch kingdom, and of the gradual submission of both of them, of Koch Bihar to the Moguls on the one hand, and of the Koch Hajo state to the Ahoms on the other. Disunion, and absence of a master-hand like the builders of the Koch fortunes—the two brothers Nara-nārāyaṇa and Cilā Rāy, put an end to Koch glory—the Western Bodos gradually became partitioned into a number of

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petty feudatories, and so they pass out of history, being transformed into the Hindu castes of Rājbarṃsis on the one hand, and into the remnants of the race in the still Bodo-speaking Rābhās and Meches of North Bengal and Western Assam. (For Koch history, see E. Gait, *History of Assam*, Calcutta, 2nd edition, 1926; Harendra Narayan Chaudhuri, *The Cooch Bihar Land Settlement*, Cooch Bihar, 1900; Khan Chaudhuri Amanatullah Ahmad, *Kōc-Bihārēr Itihās*, Part I, in Bengali, 1936, with an appraisal of the sources of Koch Bihar history in the last work, Chap. I.)

75. THE GAROS

The fortunes and achievements of the Koches or Western Bodos have been briefly narrated above. The Garos geographically belong to the Western Bodo area, and their language and the all but extinct language of the Koches are said to be practically identical. But their isolation in the Garo Hills was responsible for their backward position and primitive ways—they have not been drawn into the cross currents of history and cultural influencing, and until recently, when Christian missions started converting them, there has not been any disturbance in their old way of life. Yet the Garos like their Bodo and other Indo-Mongoloid brothers and kinsmen possess all the latent qualities of the race, and their imagination has found expression in a number of folk-tales, among which that of the chaste and loving wife Singwil is singularly beautiful. Their comparative isolation is suggested by the *Yōginī-tantra*, which calls the Garo Hills *Manda-saila*, from Garo *mandi* = 'man', the national name of the Garos for themselves.

76. THE CHUTIYAS OF EAST ASSAM

The Bodos of the East, the Chutiyas and the Kacharis, had to give resistance to the Ahoms, and although they had on the whole to retire before their more vigorous and militarily better organised Mongoloid kinsmen, their history is equally full of movement and their cultural achievement is also noteworthy. It is largely mixed up with that of the Ahoms, and to some extent with that of their western neighbours the Khasis (Jaintias). The Chutiyas under Brahman inspiration have built up a traditional history which takes their kings back to the mythical ages of the Hindu Purāṇas: this traditional history, and similar traditional 'histories' of all other branches of the Indo-Mongoloids (e.g. the Koches, the Kacharis, the Tipras and others) and other non-Aryans, are of the nature of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum* tracing the origin of the British Celts to a supposititious Brutus of Roman legend; or Vergil's deriving the lineage of Rome to Æneas of Troy. (See Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 41.) In the case of totally new conquerors whose antecedents were matters of common knowledge and who had their own strongly established traditions and legends, this affiliation to some fictitious eponymus ancestor from the Hindu Purāṇas was not possible, as in the case of the Ahoms; and where an old or well-known house became powerful in very recent times, as in the case of the Koches, this fictitious affiliation was equally difficult. The fact, however, seems to be that, as an overflow of Hindu influences from the Hinduised Bodo people of Kāmarūpa, the Chutiyas in the extreme east of Assam (Sadiya) had also become partially Hinduised by the beginning of the 13th century, when they came into clash with the Ahom invaders. Their earlier religion entailing human sacrifices to a Mother Goddess was assimilated to Tantric Hinduism. They put up a stiff enough fight against the Ahoms, which was continued for some centuries. But finally, after being in

part absorbed by the Ahoms, they have mainly become transformed into the Assamese-speaking masses of Eastern Assam.

77. THE DIMA-SA OR KACHARIS

The Kachari section of the Eastern Bodos have now taken their name from the district of Kachar forming in part the eastern part of the Surma valley and including the range of hills which make up the watershed between the Brahmaputra and Surma valleys: the name *Kāchār* meaning 'low lands', or 'border lands', comes from a Sanskrit *kakṣa-vāṭa* (*kachāḍa*, *kāchār*). Originally, their seat of power was further to the north, along the south bank of the Brahma-putra and along the Dhansiri river: they have preserved the memory of their original home through their own name for themselves—*Dimā-sā*, 'Sons of the Big Water,' that is, the Brahma-pūtra. The capital city they built after they came within the pale of Hinduism, which happened probably as early as the 13th century, was known as *Dimāpur*. It was their metropolis as early as the 15th century. Fuller Hinduisation of the Kachari ruling class appears to have begun from the 16th century: from the end of this century, we have their kings bearing Hindu or Sanskrit names. It was probably from the 13th or *circa* 12th century that the name *Dimāpur* was quite arbitrarily Sanskritised into *Hiḍimbā-pura*, and in this way a connexion was established between Kacharis and Hiḍimbā, the Rākṣasi or non-Aryan wife of Bhīma the Pāṇḍava hero of the *Mahābhārata*. It was then believed that the first line of Kachari kings were descended from Ghatotkaca, the son of Bhīma and Hiḍimbā, who was slain in the Kurukshetra battle. Ghatotkaca's son Sasempha was the king of the Kacharis. Sasempha's line became extinct, and a new line was started by a king about whom there was a native Kachari (non-Hindu) legend—he was born miraculously of a virgin. But the Kachari kingdom continued to be described as the State of Hiḍimba (or *Hēramba*, as a modification of the name) and a connexion with Ghatotkaca was tacitly admitted. (The Chutiyas, own brothers to the Kacharis, similarly were looked upon as descended from Bhīsmaka, the father of Rukmiṇī, one of the wives of Kṛishṇa.) The Kacharis (and also the Chutiyas—and similarly the Mon-Khmer speaking Jaintias) did not preserve their old traditions—what little we get, we get from the Assamese *Buranjis*. We find the Kacharis in conflict with the Ahoms soon after their arrival; and we find the first historical king of the Kacharis mentioned in the *Buranjis*—he was Khun-kara, who died c. 1531 A.D. He was followed by Detsung, who like his predecessor, fought with the Ahoms. The Kachari king Yaśonārāyaṇa-deva, ruled during the last quarter of the 16th century, and his silver coin of Śaka 1505=1583 gives his name in Sanskrit and a poetic expression of his being a devotee of Śiva and Umā (Hara-Gaurī), and mentions, evidently as a matter of pride, that he is of the family of Hācengsā (see § 73). We do not know anything of this Indo-Mongoloid prince with an unquestionably Bodo name. Before Yaśonārāyaṇa, during Detsung's wars with the Ahoms, the Kacharis got the worst of it when their capital *Dimāpur* was captured by the Ahoms, and they deserted their old capital and pushed southwards and built a new capital at Māibong. Yaśonārāyaṇa was defeated by the Koches, who were akin to his own people in race and language, though more advanced with their Hindu culture.

We have a series of Kachari kings from 1606 onwards. The Kacharis, after the eclipse of Koch power, had to struggle with the Ahoms on the one hand and their western neighbours the Jaintias (or Khasis) on the other. These tripartite wars went on throughout the 17th century, and we have a number of romantic episodes in the course of them, which we find narrated

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in the Assamese *Buranjis*. The Kachari king Śatru-damana, who later assumed the title of Pratāpa-Nārāyaṇa, fought the Jaintia king Dhana-māṇikya and forced him to pay tribute; and when through the machination of Dhana-māṇikya's son Yaśomāṇikya the Ahoms attacked the Kachari king, the latter defeated them, and in honour of his victory assumed the name of Pratāpa-Nārāyaṇa and gave his capital Māibong a Sanskrit name Kirti-pura. In the reign of Jahāngir, Pratāpa-Nārāyaṇa had to fight with the Moguls who invaded Kachar territory, and peace was made by the Kachar king paying tribute.

Subsequent Kachari rulers have no importance, excepting that their wars with the Jaintias and Ahoms continued off and on. The Kachari king Tāmra-dhwaja was worsted by the Jaintia king Rāma Simha and taken prisoner. But his wife Candra-prabhā managed to send a letter to the Ahom king Rudra Simha (Su-khrung-pha) for help, and Rudra Simha intervened, and in this conflict the Ahom king obtained the submission of both Kachar and Jaintia rulers (1708 A.D.).

The Kacharis had come within the pale of Hindu peoples, although a great many pre-Hindu customs obtained among them. In 1790, the Kachari king Krishna Candra and his brother Govinda Candra, both obtained from the Brahmans a formal declaration that they were Kshatriyas, descended from Bhīma, after performing a ceremony of passing through the copper effigy of a cow, and a pedigree of the royal line up to Bhīma was found for them. During the reign of Govinda Candra, there was a rebellion in North Kachar, and attacks by the Manipuris, which gave the *coup de grace* to the already decadent Kachar State. Govinda Candra was driven out of his kingdom and fled to Sylhet, and he appealed to the British for help. Then took place the Burmese invasion of Assam. The army of the East India Company repulsed the Burmese from Kachar and the Surma valley, and war against the Burmese continued in the Brahma-putra valley, where the Burmese committed most cruel atrocities on the people. Finally the Burmese were driven out of Assam, and a Manipur prince Gambhir Singh joined the campaign against the Burmese and drove them out of Manipur. After the peace with the Burmese (1826), Govinda Candra was reinstated as a tributary of the East India Company. Govinda Candra proved to be a most ineffectual and exacting ruler, and he could not bring peace in his country from internal troubles. As he died childless, his kingdom was taken over by the English with the full support of his people in 1832. So ended the Kachari line of kings.

The Kacharis did not achieve much in art or letters, but in the early stage of their power when they built Dimāpur they showed themselves to be gifted architects. The ruins of Dimāpur with its huge structures and hall of stupendous decorated columns all in brick show something quite unique in the culture of the Indo-Mongoloids. The Ahoms who built in wood were impressed by Dimāpur as a city of brick, and they called Dimāpur *Che-din-chi-pin*, or 'Town Earth Burn Make,' i.e. 'Brick Town.'

78. THE INDO-MONGOLOIDS IN SYLHET

We now come to the Bodos of the South, who occupied Sylhet, probably also Maimansingh to the East of the Brahma-putra, Comilla and Tippera (Tripura). The early history of Sylhet is not known, but it would appear that the fertile Surma valley area attracted Aryan-speaking settlers from the West, Dacca and Maimansingh and beyond, and the Aryan language spread in the wake of the spread of agricultural communities; and in this way a wedge of Aryan language was spread through the plain lands of Sylhet

between the Bodos of the East and those of Tripura. The local Bodo chiefs were Aryanised, and they were given the same pedigree as the ruling house of Kachar, as they had the same speech—Bhīma and Hidimbā's son, Ghatotkaca was made their ancestor. We have two copper-plate grants of two Sylhet princes, Keśava-deva *alias* Ripurāja-Gopī-Govinda, and his son Īśāna-deva, recording gifts of land for two temples, one of Śiva from Keśava-deva and the other of Viṣṇu from Īśāna-deva. From these two grants we get a line of 5 kings up to Īśāna-deva: the founder of the family was Khara-vāṇa or Nava-gīrvāṇa, and a date in the Kali era in Keśava-deva's grant is supposed to agree with 1245 A.D. These princes trace their descent from Ghatotkaca: so that already the affiliation of the Bodo princes to the Pāṇḍavas had become established as early as the 13th century, and the Dima-sa (or Dimāpura) = Hidimbā equation had spread from the Brahmaputra side to the Surma valley. In Sylhet, there are a number of place-names ending in the element *canga* or *cam* (*cañ*, pronounced *tsōng*, or *sōng*): this seems to be the Bodo word for 'country', found in Garo as *sāng*.

Sylhet had practically become a part of Bengal, having become the home of a large population of Brahmans and others from West Bengal after the Turki conquest of that part of the province early in the 13th century, when it too was brought under the power of the Muslim Sultan of Bengal in 1303 A.D. Prior to that, there was considerable penetration of Sylhet by Muslim preachers from the West, and its present Muslim preponderance seems to go back to the end of the 13th century.

79. ISLAM AND THE INDO-MONGOIDS OF NORTH AND EAST BENGAL

The masses, who are the descendants of the Bodos pure or mixed in North Bengal and East Bengal—in Rangpur, in Bogra, in Maimansingh, in Comilla and in Sylhet—are now largely Mohammadan in religion. This preponderance of the adherents of Islam over those of Hinduism is not very old—it is rather recent: yet it started with the 13th century. Islam was successful primarily, it would appear, because the Brahmanical Hinduism of the masses was not yet deeply rooted. The sociological reason for this should be enquired into, but the simplicity of the Islamic creed in front of the complications of Puranic and Tantric Hinduism, combined with its prestige as the faith of a powerful and conquering community, gave it an initial advantage, which was strengthened by certain inherent weaknesses of the Hindu social organisation (caste restrictions, discouraging marriages of widows, etc.).

80. THE SOUTHERN BODOS: THE OLD KINGDOM OF PATTIKERA (COMILLA)

Connected with Sylhet in the south are Comilla and Tripura. The latter still is the home of a Bodo people and has a ruling house and an aristocracy with a Bodo background, while Comilla is entirely Aryanised in speech. During the second half of the first millennium A.D., Comilla, as recent excavations in the Lālmāi mounds near Comilla town have shown, was the seat of an important Hindu kingdom, that of Pattikera. Sylhet was probably part of this kingdom. Coins of Pattikera, with the name of the state or city *Pattikera* and figure of Śiva's bull and trident have been found, which would show that the ruling house was Śaivite. The 7th–11th centuries formed the most flourishing period for Pattikera. It is quite conceivable that Pattikera during the second half of the first millennium A.D. was a fully Hinduised Indo-Mongoloid kingdom, an outpost of Indian culture in the farthest East of India: and we know that Pattikera

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was a centre for the spread of Hindu culture and Hindu ideas into Burma by the land route.

From the Burmese side, we have some evidence about Pattikera connexions with Pagan (Pukam) in the 11th century. Pagan was then, at the height of its glory under its kings of Burmese (Mran-mā) nationality and speech, Aniruddha or Anuruddha (Anowrata) and Kyan-cac-sāḥ (Kyanzittha). Kyanzittha ruled from 1084 to 1112 A.D., and he was a great warrior and a great builder who created among other structures the famous Ānanda Caitya of Pagan in 1090. We find evidence of the influence of Eastern India (Magadha and Bengal) on the art of Burma in the stone bas-reliefs and terracottas of the Ānanda Caitya, but the Burmese artists (Mon mostly, as well as Burmese) were already assimilating Indian art traditions and making them their own by evolving a distinct local style. Pattikera, or Palikkara as the name is written in the *Mahārāja-vaṃśa* (*Mahayazawen*) and other Burmese annals, had close connexions with Pagan at this time. It is said that a prince from Palikkara found himself in Kyanzittha's court. He was in all likelihood a Hindu Bodo. He loved the daughter of the Burmese king, and this love was reciprocated. But acting under the advice of his ministers, Kyanzittha publicly disallowed their marriage. This the prince took to heart and committed suicide. Later on Kyanzittha's daughter gave birth to a son, and Kyanzittha declared this child to be his successor, who duly became king as A-loṇ-cañ-suḥ (Aloungsithu). Other accounts mention that Kyanzittha's daughter Rhwe-im-saṇ (Shwe-ein-thi) was married to Co-ywan (Saw-yun), the only son of Co-lūḥ (Saw-lu), the son of Aniruddha, and Aloungsithu was born after this marriage. (Cf. Lieut.-General Sir Arhur Phayre, *History of Burma*, London, 1883, p. 38; cf. also C.E. Hervey, *History of Burma*, London, 1925, pp. 18-44 for the history of Kyanzittha.) It is quite clear that the courts of Pattikera and Pagan were in close cultural and possibly also social relationship with each other. Kyanzittha's mother Pañca-kalyāṇī was a princess from the Hindu kingdom of Arakan, the capital of which was Vesali (= Vaisali, the name of the well-known city in North India which was given by Indian settlers to a city they founded in Arakan).

There is the other East Bengal kingdom of Harikela, mentioned in inscriptions (e.g. the Rāmpal plate of Śrī-candra, c. 11th-12th centuries). This Harikela has been identified with Dacca and East Maimansingh districts, and again with Sylhet. In either case, Harikela is a country or area close to, may be contiguous with Pattikera. The common element (*Kēla* or *Kēra*, *Kēr*) in these two names is noticeable: its meaning and affinity are not known. But there is an ancient pre-Hindu religious rite among the Tipras which is known as *Kēr-pūjā*, which appears to be a ritual for the worship of the Earth and Creation (see Kaliprasanna Sen, *Śrī-rājamālā*, Vol. I, Agartala, 1336 Tripura era, pp. 143ff.) It is not unlikely that *Kēla*, *Kēra*, is connected with this Tipra word *kēr*, and may have some significance connected with the Earth. (See *addendum* at the end of this monograph).

81. THE TIPRĀS, AND THE TIPPERA OR TRIPURĀ KINGDOM

Tripurā State is now the only area where the Bodo people still retain a good deal of their medieval political and cultural *mīlieu*, although Hinduisation has made rapid strides among them. But nearly 300,000 people in the state have still kept up their old Bodo language, the Tiprā or Mrung. The Tripurā (this is how the tribal name has been Sanskritised) ruling house is, according to tradition, of North Indian Kshatriya origin, claiming kinship with the Pāṇḍavas as scions of the lunar race;

and very early immigration of Aryan-speakers from Upper India among the Tipra section of the Bodos—the Southern Bodos—is quite in the nature of things. The Hinduisation of the Tipras started quite early, and it appears to have been achieved largely by the beginning of the 15th century. The Tripurā king Dharma-māṇikya is said to have inaugurated in early Bengal a history of the Tippera royal house, and a work was created, the first version of the *Rājamālā*, in 1458, through the joint labours of the *Comtāwā* (or *Cāntāi*, in present-day Tipra), i.e. Tipra priest Durlabhendra and two Brahman scholars Śukreśvara and Bāṇeśvara. In this Hindu Purāṇa legends and the early traditional history of the Bodos of the South (as preserved in the Tibeto-Burman Bodo, perhaps orally) were synthesised. At subsequent epochs (c. 1660 and c. 1830) the history was continued, and in this way we get the Bengali *Rājamālā* as a verse chronicle of Tripurā. The historical value of this chronicle is worthless for the period prior to the 15th century. Some traditions of the origin of the Tripurā house, which were of Bodo origin, unquestionably, are preserved in the most valuable Assamese *Tripurā Buranjī*, written by Ratna Kandali and Arjun Dās in 1646 Śaka = 1724 A.D., who visited Tripurā thrice during 1710–1714 as emissaries from king Rudra Siṃha of Assam. The value of this work, being a contemporary account of Tripurā, is immense (published Gauhati, 1938). The earlier Tripurā kings show Sanskrit names where these names are traditional and fictitious; and Bodo (Tipra) names which are plentiful up to the 14th century appear to be genuine. The traditions regarding these kings with Bodo names appear to have a historical basis. Among the Tipras, the names of kings generally ended with the word *phā* which meant 'father,' and those of the queens with *mā*, i.e. 'mother'. The following names are typical: *Dunguru-phā*, *Khārunḡ-phā*, *Cheng-pha-nāi*, *Mocang-phā*, *Chengkāchāḡ*, *Chengthum-phā*, *Dāṅgar-phā*, etc. The chronicles of the Tripurā kings are full of romantic tales.

In the earlier stages of their history, the Tipras appear to have been intimately connected with the Kacharis, their kinsmen in the North. About 1240 A.D., according to traditional history, the emperor of Gauda, probably the Turki Sultan of Bengal, invaded Tripurā, and the reigning king Kirtidhara *alias* Cheng-thum-phā was seized with fear and wanted to sue for peace. But his wife Queen Tripurā-sundarī was quite an Amazon—she forced her husband to fight, and herself took the command, and after feasting the Kuki and other Tripurā troops with the flesh of buffaloes, *mithans*, sheep, goats, pigs, deer, and various kinds of game, and with thousands and thousands of jars of rice-beer, attacked the Gauda army, and the Gauda general Hiravant Khan who was dressed in a golden *zirah* or Persian mail was set upon, and finally the Gauda troops were driven back with great slaughter. This was perhaps the first victory of the Southern Indo-Mongoloids against the Turks from Bengal.

Ratna-phā (c. 1350 A.D.) sought asylum in the court of Sultān Shamsuddin of Bengal, and with the help of the Mohammadan Sultān he attacked Tripurā and forced his father king Dāṅgar-phā to flee to the hills where he died, and gradually defeated his brothers and made himself king. From his time the Tripurā kings took up the title or second name of *Māṇikya*, which was awarded to Ratna-phā by the Sultān. Ratna-phā is said to have settled thousands of Bengali families among the rude Tipras and Kukis; and this led to the closer approximation of both the royal family and the rank and file of the Indo-Mongoloid people of Tripurā State to the Bengalis in religion and culture, and it meant also the establishment of Bengali and Sanskrit as culture and religious languages of the Tipra people.

According to Professor Kalikaranjan Qanungo, Ratna-phā flourished c. 1275–1290. He was a contemporary of Sultān Ghiyāsuddin Balban.

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He was at first defeated by Sultān Mughisuddīn Toghril about 1280, and subsequently on his submission he was honoured by the Muslim king with the title of *Māṇikya*. Toghril was subsequently defeated and killed by Ghiyāsuddīn Balbān, as the former declared his independence from Delhi and became recalcitrant.

The first great king of the Tipras was Dharma-māṇikya (c. 1431-1462). He was a patron of learning, i.e. learning in Bengali and Sanskrit, although he himself was a Bodo speaker. He inaugurated, as we have just seen, the *Rājamālā* poetic chronicle of Tripurā in Bengali, and he settled Brahmans in his realm and was himself a staunch Hindu.

82. KING DHANYA-MĀṆIKYA OF TRIPURĀ

Dhanya-māṇikya was perhaps the greatest of Tripurā monarchs (1463-1515), and his queen Kamalā-devī was well-known in Tipra history. Coins in their joint names were issued—the first coins of Tripurā that we know (noted above, § 73). He crushed the recalcitrant feudatories and army lords who were making Tripurā weak, and he wanted, with the active support of his queen, to do away with baneful caste restrictions among his Kuki and other troops and sought to introduce interdining among them. The Kukis, members of a sister branch of the Tibeto-Burman people, were the inhabitants of the eastern parts of the Tripurā kingdom, and they were great fighters and loyally served the Tripurā king on many occasions; and Dhanya-māṇikya's best general was Caycāg, probably a Kuki chief, who won for him many a stiff campaign. Among the various wars which Dhanya-māṇikya waged was one against the Kacharis, and Caycāg was brilliantly successful in this war. He also brought under his master a large number of Kuki and other tribes contiguous to Tripurā. War against the Muslim Sultān of Bengal, Husain Shāh, started when Tippera troops seized Chittagong from the Muslims in 1513. Chittagong and Arakan were both conquered by Dhanya-māṇikya—his generals Nārāyaṇa, who was given the title *Rasāṅga-mardana* or 'the Conqueror of Rasāṅg or Roshang' (the capital of Arakan), and Rāyccāg and Rāy Kacham (Kasam) distinguishing themselves in the Arakan campaign (c. 1525). War now began with the Muslim Sultān of Bengal in right earnest, and after a number of initial reverses, Dhanya-māṇikya's army, emboldened by some magical rites performed by witch women of the Dom caste, took recourse to a stratagem and fell upon the Mohammadan army under its generals Haiten Khān and Karā Khān, and defeated and chased it away from the Tripurā territories.

Dhanya-māṇikya tried to abolish human sacrifices which used to be performed very frequently before the Śakti goddess, and was able to reduce it to about three only, and then when suitable war-prisoners were available. His son-in-law He-pāk-lāu was killed by Kukis, and for this condign punishment was meted to their chiefs.

He was a patron of literature and of the arts as he was a soldier and conqueror, and sought to spread the use of Bengali among the people by encouraging translations into Bengali of Sanskrit works. He built many temples and got artists to carve beautiful images; and he was a greater supporter of the Hindu faith. He was certainly one of the greatest personalities among the Indo-Mongoloids.

83. KING VIJĀYA-MĀṆIKYA OF TRIPURĀ (1529-1570)

Dhanya-māṇikya was followed by his two sons Dhvaja-māṇikya and Deva-māṇikya. The latter conquered Bhutā in Noakhali district. He was

a great Śākta devotee according to the Tantric rites, and he was murdered by a Maithil Brahman who was his helping priest in these rites and who had an intrigue with one of the king's junior wives. This Brahman was killed by the army chief Daitya-nārāyaṇa, who then made Vijaya-māṇikya, a minor son of the murdered Deva-māṇikya, king of Tripurā. Vijaya-māṇikya (1529-1570) was a capable ruler. He conquered Sylhet, Jaintia and Khasia States, and fought with the Pathans from Bengal, the Sultān of Bengal Sulaimān Kirānī having sent an expedition against Tripurā under Mamārak (Mubārak?) Khān. As usual, after some initial successes, the Pathans were defeated, and their general was brought a prisoner to Udayapur, the Tripurā capital. Through the instance of the Cāntāi, the non-Brahman head priest of the Tipras, the captured general was beheaded as a sacrifice to Kālī. The Pathan Sultān Dāūd Khān was then engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Moguls, and so he could not think of revenge, and Vijaya-māṇikya, left unrivalled master of East Bengal, set forth to conquer some parts of the province. He conquered Vikrampur and Sonār-gāon, and led his victorious troops to the banks of the Brahma-putra. A masterful man, he died at the age of 47, and he had great contemporaries—Akbar the Great, and king Nara-nārāyaṇa of Koch Bihar.

84. THE LATER TRIPURĀ KINGS: DECAY OF TRIPURĀ POWER

After the death of Vijaya-māṇikya, the history of Tripurā is chequered by sordid court intrigues accentuated by murders for power or for possession of the throne. But the Tipras and their generals had not yet lost their vigour, they fought successfully with the Mohammadāns (Moguls), allying themselves with the Bengal Muslims. King Amara-māṇikya (1597-1611) also fought with the Maghs or Arakanese, and his two sons Rāja-dhara and Amara-durlabha distinguished themselves in this fight against the Arakan Burmese. But ultimately the Arakanese are said to have defeated the Tipras, and advanced as far as Udayapur, the Tripura capital, and sacked the place (1588). Ultimately Amara-māṇikya committed suicide in 1611.

The Moguls appear, however, to have proved too strong for Tripurā, and a Tripurā king was led a prisoner to Dacca, whence he was allowed to go on pilgrimage to Benares and Brindabān, where he died. The history of the Tipras in the 17th century was one of gradual decay, although the State of Tripurā never became a part of the Subah of Bengal. The rulers of Tippera took less and less interest in the affairs of Bengal, and were engrossed in their little affairs within the State only, spending their time in religious and literary exercises and in internecine strife. The proud description of Tippera State as *Svādhīna Tripurā* or 'Independent Tripurā' is justified, but the State has now fallen in line with the other feudatory States in India.

85. RELIGION AMONG THE TIPRAS

Tripurā has thus been an arena for the expression of some of the highest qualities of the Indo-Mongoloid people under Hindu inspiration. The Tipras, like the other Bodo groups, had their tribal religion much modified by Hinduism. But among them, and under the ægis of the ruling house of Tripurā, a good deal of their old pre-Hindu religion and its rituals is preserved, as part of the State religion. For a number of centuries, the Tipra *Comtāwās* (as the Assamese writers have called them in 1724) or *Cāntāis* (as they are now called) or high priests and the Tipra *Deodhāis* or *Deodāis* (*Deoris*) have ministered to the old gods, holding a position in society almost as exalted as that of the Brahmins. *Cāntāi* and *Deodhāi* on the one hand,

and Brahmans on the other—the former preserving the old gods (though sometimes under new names) and the old rites—these are the custodians of Tipra religion: a dual arrangement is still in vogue. The 'national pantheon' of the Tipras consists of a group of 14 gods who are worshipped by the *Cāntāis* in a series of 14 metal heads in a temple at Udayapur which form the Tipra Palladium. These 14 gods have been identified with the Brahmanical Śiva, Umā, Viṣṇu, Śrī, Sarasvatī, Kumāra, Gaṇeśa, Brahmā, the Earth Goddess, the River Ganges (Gaṅgā), the Sea, the Fire God, Kāma and the Himālayas. The use of heads only, in lieu of full images, is something unique in Hindu ritual, and this thing is found elsewhere in Tripurā (e.g. heads carved on rock at Unakoṭi near Kailāsaḥar; and in South Bengal, in the cult of Dakṣiṇa Rāya, the God of Tigers—probably an Austric cult in origin—similar heads of painted terracotta are used for images). There are two great festivals in which the *Cāntāis* and *Deodāis* participate—the *Khārci-pūjā*, and the *Kēr-pūjā*. In the latter rite, there is made a ritualistic use of bull-roarers (*bhemrā, bhamrā*) of bamboo slips—a custom not known in any Brahmanical worship. From the Assamese *Tripurā Burānji*, we learn that before the 14 gods, non-Brahmanical sacrifices of 'buffaloes, methans or wild bisons, pigs, dogs, ducks, pigeons, goats, *pahu* = deer or cattle (?), fish, tortoises, and spirituous drinks' were offered, with instrumental music. The rites appear now to have become much more humane through close contact with Brahman ideals.

The late Kailas Chandra Sinha gives (in his *Rājamālā*, pp. 24-28) the original Tipra names of the various Gods worshipped by them, including those of some of these 14 gods. They are as follows:—

- (i) *Matai-Katar*—Tipra *Matai* = 'God', *Katar* = 'Great, Supreme'. The Supreme Deity of the Tipras, who has been identified with Śiva Mahādeva.
- (ii) and (iii) *Lām-Prā*—Twin deities, Sky and Sea (*Khābdhi*—*Kha* and *Abdhi* in Sanskrit—or, rather, Earth and Sea, *Kṣmā* and *Abdhi*: *Prā* means 'the Sea').
- (iv) *Sān-gramā* or the Himalaya Mountains. *Lām-Prā* and *Sān-gramā* are looked upon as most potent or living deities.
- (v) *Tui-mā* or *Gaṅgā* (the Ganges). Specially worshipped in the month of *Agrahāyana* and generally at other times. The priests of *Tui-mā* declare the cause of illness after consulting the deity while performing worship in her honour. (*Tui-mā* = 'Water Mother'.)
- (vi) *Māilu-mā*—The Goddess of Rice. Identified with Śrī or Lakṣmī.
- (vii) *Khulu-mā*—The Goddess of the Cotton Plant.
- (viii) *Buṛhā-chā*—The God who is worshipped specially to cure illness.
- (ix) and (x) *Bani-rāo* and *Thani-rāo*: Two brothers, sons of *Buṛhā-chā*.
- (xi—xvii) The seven *Buḍirak* sisters. Six of them are married, and the 7th is a Goddess who, like the Goddess of Love in many mythologies, attracts men and grants them her favours. They are called *Dākinīs* or *Yōginīs* by the Hindus (or the Seven *Parī* Sisters, among Muslims of Tripurā).
- (xviii) and (xix) The two brothers *Gōrāiyā* and *Kālāiyā* 'the Fair One' and 'the Dark One' who are worshipped on the last day of the Hindu year (*Caitra Saṅkrānti*), when the Tipras drink much rice-beer in their honour for two or three days.

The way in which these 14 main deities of this Kirāta people have been identified with the major deities of the Brahmanical pantheon, probably as early as the 13th century, is interesting. The following Sanskrit verses

(quoted by Kaliprasanna Sen, Vidyabhushana, in his *Rājamālā*, Part I, Agartala, Tripura year 1336, pp. 131-132) from the *Rājamālikā* and the Sanskrit *Rājamālā*, give the identification :

Harōmā (= *Hara* + *Umā*), *Hari-Mā*, *Vānī*, *Kumārī*, *Gaṇapō*, *Vidhī*,
Kṣmābdhīr Gaṅgā, *Śikhī*, *Kāmō*, *Himādriśca caturdaśa* || (*Rājamālikā*)

Saṅkaraṇca Śivānīṇca Murārīṇ Kamalām tathā |

Bhāratiṇca Kumārāṇca Gaṇēśam Vēdhasam tathā ||

Dharaṇīm Jāhnavīm Dēvīm Payōdhiṁ Madanaṁ tathā |

Hutāśaṇ ca Nagēśaṇ ca Dēvatās tāḥ śubhāvahāḥ || (Sanskrit *Rājamālā*.)

This selection of the 14 major deities of Brahmanism in late medieval times recalls the Greek Pantheon of 14 as given on the Parthenon frieze—Zeus, Hērē, Iris, Arēs, Dēmētēr, Dionusos, Hermēs, Athēnē, Hēphaistos, Pōseidōn, Apollōn, Artemis, Aphroditē, Ērōs—and the 12 deities of the Romans given in the old Latin Saturnine verse—

Juno Vesta Minerva Ceres Diana Venus Mars,
Mercurius Jovi Neptunus Volcanus Apollo.

86. TRIPURĀ ACHIEVEMENT

The upper classes among the Tipras have an exalted position as Kshatriyas among all the aristocratic houses of India. The military power and statesmanship of their ancestors, particularly in the 15th-17th centuries, from a brilliant and a glorious chapter in the history of India, and the heroism of these Southern Bodos and their Kuki allies in offering resistance to foreign invaders is worthy of all praise. Their achievement in architecture was of no mean order: witness the number of fine old temples and palaces in Tripurā State, now unfortunately mostly in decay. Some of the Tipra textiles in coloured silk and cotton, particularly the gold and silver embroidered silk *riyāh* or narrow breast-covers, is a distinctive and elegant production of the textile art which made Tippera famous. Metal work, wood-carving and sculpture in stone were arts in which the Tippera people excelled. Tipra contribution to the history and culture of Eastern India, particularly East Bengal, has its own unique place.

87. SANSKRIT AND OTHER TEXTS, AND PRE-HINDU INDO-MONGOLOID RELIGION

The Bodos and the Ahoms in Bengal and Assam, and the Newars in Nepal, were the Indo-Mongoloids whose participation in the evolution of religion and culture and in the course of political history in North-eastern India has been most obvious. The religious *milieu* that developed on this Indo-Mongoloid background is of course apparent in the life of these peoples and their descendants. But a good deal of confused and vague information, information which mostly is based on fact, will be found in certain religious texts, some of the late *Purāṇas* and *Tantras*, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, which deal with the phases of Indian religion as it developed in Nepal and in Bengal and Assam. The chronicles in the vernacular languages like Newari and Parbatiya, Assamese and Bengali also require such scrutiny. A close study of these works is still a desideratum—from the point of view of religious and cultural development. A good beginning has been made for the earlier and pan-Indian *Purāṇas* by Dr. Rajendra Chandra Hazra in his *Studies in the Purana Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* (Dacca, 1940), which is quite a pioneer work seeking to trace the development of

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religious ideas and organisation in Hindudom. Works like the *Svayambhā-purāṇa*, the *Kālikā-purāṇa* and the *Yōginī Tantra* can only be expected to yield important side-lights in the history of the synthesis of Indo-Mongoloid and Hindu Puranic religion, in at least some of its aspects.

88. THE BACKWARD INDO-MONGOLOIDS: THE NORTH ASSAM TRIBES, NAGAS, MIKIRS

The other Indo-Mongoloid groups did not have, so far, any great part to play, except to some extent the Meithei or Manipuris. The North Assam tribes, Abor, Miri, Aka and Dafla have remained in the background—they had dealings with the Ahoms, and that is all that we know of them. Similarly the Mishmis. This last tribe has been connected with the Hindu sacred place of Brahma-kunḍa, the easternmost place of Hindu pilgrimage in India, which Paraśurāma is said to have visited; but the visits of a few Hindu pilgrims could make no impression on the Mishmis. The Khamtis and the Singphos are late comers from Burma. In the Naga Hills, we have the Nagas, whose depredations and head-hunting raids made their name a terror to the plainsmen of Assam. The Nagas have remained the most primitive of the Indo-Mongoloids. They are related to the Bodos more closely than to the Kuki tribes to their south. They fought and were punished by the Ahoms, and at times the daughter of a Naga chieftain found a place in the harem of the Ahom king, but their influence in the flow of life and history has been almost nil. In one matter, as noted before, the Nagas (and also the Kukis) have some resemblance with the Aryans of late Vedic times—in their elaborate 'feasts of merit' involving animal sacrifice (see ante, § 27). The Nagas are abandoning their old ways. Their language is split up into a number of mutually unintelligible dialects, which are each confined to a very few people, and this is giving the Aryan language Assamese a chance to establish itself among them—first as a *Lingua Franca*, and then as the home language.

There are certain other Naga tribes, more closely related to the Bodos (like the Empeos, the Kabui, the Khoiraos) or more closely connected with the Kukis (like the Mikirs), whose cultural *milieu* is like that of the Bodos and the Kukis both. The Mikirs, living in the Mikir Hills in the areas in the north and east of Khasi and Jaintia Hill Tracts and in Sibsagar district, and to the north of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, number 129,000, and they do not have any special or distinctive culture of their own, participating in a common Tibeto-Burman way of living. One or two of their folk-tales are charming, particularly that of the Mikir youth who got a god's daughter as his bride (see Edward Stack and Sir Charles Lyall, *The Mikirs*, London, David Nutt, 1908).

89. THE KUKI-CHINS

The Kuki-Chin peoples form the easternmost group of the Indo-Mongoloids and are the most recent arrivals. Linguistically they are close to the Burmese, the Lolos and the Kachins or Singphos; but culturally they have preserved their primitive ways, and having never accepted Buddhism have a totally different cultural *milieu* from the Burmese, and they agree more with the Nagas and the Bodos. The Lusheis are one of the most well-known of the Kuki-Chin peoples. Excepting in the case of the Meithei, they have not come within the pale of Hinduism. Their movements in the districts where they are now found (Lushei Hills, Tripurā State, Southern Sylhet, Manipur, and some portions of the Naga Hills, and Kachar) have to some extent been ascertained. Manipur and the Lushei Hills, as well as

Eastern Tripurā, and the adjacent parts of Burma would appear to be the cradle of the Kuki-Chins. The Kukis of Tripurā as subjects of the Tripurā kings took a prominent part in the fight the latter gave to the Mohammadans from Bengal, and to the Kacharis and Jaintias in the North, and the Arakanese in the South. The Kukis other than Meitheis came in contact with the Hindu world in Tripurā and in Kachar by 1500 A.D. at the latest.

90. THE MEITHEIS OR MANIPURIS

The Meitheis or Manipuris are the most advanced section of the Kuki-Chin people. They were known to the Ahoms as *Mekhalī*, to the early Assamese as *Moglaw*, to the Kacharis as *Magli*, and the Shans call them *Ka-se* and the Burmese *Ka-the*. Their early history is not known, although they have a list of 47 kings up to 1714. Sober history for the Manipuris commences from that year. The Manipuris had their own myths and legends; and these, after their Hinduisation, have inextricably been linked up with Brahmanical legends, to form a veritable *Manipura-Purāṇa*: only it is not written in Sanskrit, but in Manipuri. These legends and myths are not found in a single book, but in a series of tales or narratives in the Manipuri language, each giving an account of an independent legend or story. Mutum Śrī Jhulon Singh of Imphal has written a History of Manipur in both Manipuri and English (*Houkhiba Wari—Bijay Pāñcālī—Manipur Itihās*, 3rd ed., 1947, Imphal, Manipur; *Bejoy Panchalee or History of Manipur in English* in two parts, Imphal, 1936 and 1941) in which the traditional account of the early history of Manipur (including creation myths and myths of the gods) has been given. Paṇḍit Śrī Atombāpu Śarmā, Vidyāratna, Paṇḍitarāja, the eminent Sanskrit scholar and Hindu religious teacher of Manipur who has brought out a large number of Sanskrit scriptures and other works in Sanskrit and Manipuri, has sought to reconcile, in the old Brahman way, Hindu or Brahmanical history as in the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas and the Purāṇas with the Manipuri or Meithei traditions in history and astronomy in a series of books and pamphlets in Manipuri, Sanskrit and English (cf. *Meitei Hareimaye*, translated into English by A. Dorendrajit Singha, B.A., printed at the Churachand Press, Imphal, no date). Similar collections of myths and legends of the Ahoms, pure and mixed Hindu, as well as those of the Kacharis, the Tipras and the Jaintias could be designated respectively an *Asama-Purāṇa*, a *Hiḍimba- or Hēramba-Purāṇa*, a *Tripurā-Purāṇa* and a *Jayantī-Purāṇa*: and such *Purāṇa*-like collections of old Indo-Mongoloid myth and legend may still be made, but will be impossible in a couple of generations from now when the older people who are repositories of these legends die out.

The Meitheis, before they arrived in the fertile valley of Manipur, and formed their old settlement at Moirang to the south of the Loktak lake, were preceded by other Kuki tribes who now live in Manipur and in East Tripurā, and south of them live the Lusheis and other members of the same Kuki group. The Manipur Kukis, along with the Nagas, are gradually becoming Hinduised and are being absorbed among the Manipuris. The Meitheis adopted Hinduism fairly early: when it was exactly, we do not know. Manipuri Brahmins (known in Burma as *Kathe Ponnas*) are found in Burma where they are engaged mostly as astrologers, and they must have started to visit Burma as soon as Brahman settlements took place in Manipur, and these Brahmins began to take wives locally and a mixed class of Brahmins originated which nevertheless kept up the Brahman tradition and the Sanskrit scholarship with zeal. Definite evidence of Hinduisation through the spread of the worship of Viṣṇu is found in Manipur, as early as the

15th century, when king Kiyamba ruled over the Meithei,—apart from traditional accounts which take the matter to a hoary antiquity. As usual, approximation of the old Meithei religion to the Hindu Brahmanical one began with the identification of the gods of the two religions. This must have gone hand in hand with the advent of the first Hindu missionaries, who were Brahmans in the first instance (not sent by any organisation, but individuals drifting on their own from the neighbouring Sylhet and Kachar and beyond) and Vaishnava mendicants in the second, belonging to the North Indian Rāmānanda order and the Bengali Chaitanya order, which had establishments in Sylhet.

91. A 'MAṆIPURA-PURĀṆA': EARLY MANIPURI MYTHS AND LEGENDARY HISTORY

Thus, in this way, the god *Mai* was identified with *Brahmā*, *Ishing* with *Vishnu*, *Nung-shit* with *Śiva*, and *Shorarel* or *Shoraren* with *Indra*, *Marjing* with *Kubera*, *Khoriphaba* with *Varuṇa*, *Wangbrél* with *Yama*, *Irum* with *Agni*, and *Taoroinai* with *Ananta*, the *Nāga* king.

Manipur is mentioned in the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa*, along with other lands or provinces of the East:

Varēndra-Tāmrāliptaṇ ca Hēdamba-Manipurakam |

Lāuhityas Tripuraṇ cāiva Jayantākhyam Susaṅgakam ||

(Quoted by Kaliprasanna Sen, *Rājamālā*, Vol. I, p. 169: *Brahma-khaṇḍa* of the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa*.)

'Varendra (North Central Bengal), Tāmrālipta (South-west Bengal), Hēdamba (the Kachar kingdom, Dimāpur), Manipura, the Lauhitya or Brahma-putra tract (Assam proper), the Tripurā country, (the land) named Jayanta (=the Jaintia country) and Susanga (=North Maimansingh, Susang-Durgāpur, the seat of a formerly powerful Brahman 'Lord of the Marches' from the 13th century, still inhabited by the Hāijangs, a Bengalised Garo or Bodo tribe).'

The above reference may go back to the 13th-14th centuries, from the mention of *Susanga*. (Cf. *Bengal District Gazetteers: Mymensingh*, by F. A. Sachse, I.C.S., Calcutta, 1917: the foundation of the present *Susang* state was by a Brāhman Someśwar Pāthak from Kanauj who came towards the end of the 13th century and established his family with the help of *Sādhus* among Bodos and Khasis.) By that time, the Meithei State had got its Sanskrit name of *Maṇipura*. The Manipuris have a legendary explanation of this Sanskrit name which is given below.

Śiva and Umā descended from *Kailāsa* with the special intention of settling down in the land of Manipur for a sojourn. They first came to *Nongmaijing* or *Nila-kaṇṭha* hill, and selected certain hills for their residence. These hills are now among the sacred places in the State of Manipur, which are visited by thousands of pilgrims. Because Śiva was a newcomer to Manipur, he was given a new name in Manipur, *Poireiton* 'He who has come to a new place'.

In Manipur, Śiva caused seven supernatural beings to descend from the seven-hilled *Sanjing* or *Paradise*. These were the seven planets—(1) *Nongmaijing* or the Sun, (2) *Ningthoukaba* or the Moon, (3) *Leipakpoku* or Mars, (4) *Yumsaikesa* or Mercury, (5) *Sagolse* or Jupiter, (6) *Irai* or Venus, and (7) *Thangja* or Saturn. Of these, Mars had the head of a buffalo, Mercury that of an elephant, Jupiter that of a deer, and Venus that of a tiger.

Śiva and Umā then went to the north-west of Manipur and stopped on *Koubru* or *Kumāra* Hill. One of the reasons why they came to Manipur was that they wished to perform the *Rāsa* dance there. Once it had happened that when Krishna was dancing the *Rāsa* with the Gopis, Śiva with the epithet of *Gopeśvara* or the Lord of the Herdsmen and Devi Umā were acting as door-keepers outside the dance area. Umā heard the music accompanying the dance and the sound of the dance, and wished to see it, but Krishna did not permit her. He suggested Śiva and Umā finding some suitable spot where they could perform the *Rāsa* themselves. Seeking for such a proper place for this great *Rāsa* dance, they came to Manipur, and thought that the *Koubru* hill would be such a place. But the land around was wet and moist because of too many streams. Śiva prayed to Krishna to make the land dry. Krishna himself came down, and a place which became dry came to be known as *Vishnupur*. Ten divinities accompanied Krishna—*Haoba Shorarel* or *Indra*, and *Kubera*, *Yama*, *Varuṇa*, *Agni*, and *Thangjing* or *Aśvinī-Kumāra*, or *Nirṛti*, *Chingkhēi-Ningthou* or *Īśāna*, *Loiya-lapa* or *Vāyu*, and two other deities named *Nongsaba* and *Kongba-meïromba*.

Through the exertions of these gods, the land was freed of its waters and became dry, and of the ten deities, the first eight became the eight *Dik-pālas* or Guardians of the Quarters, only *Nongsaba* and *Kongba-meïromba* remained as Guardians of the East with *Indra* (*Haoba Shorarel*).

When Śiva and Umā had come to Manipur, they had found only *Kirāta* people as dwellers in the land.

When the country was cleared and purified, the *Rāsa* dance of Śiva and Umā was arranged. The gods came with various instruments to assist in the dance to be held by the Father and the Mother of the Universe. The serpent king *Ananta* illumined the whole country with the gem (*maṇi*) that was on his head for the seven days and seven nights that the dance went on. For this, the land got its name of *Maṇi-pura*, 'the City or Land of the Gem.'

In this way, at the dawn of creation, the land of Manipur was sanctified by the dance of Śiva and Umā. The gods were very pleased, and they blessed the land of Manipur, that the land will forever remain green, and the people will be devoted to the gods. The land originally was named *Śiva-nagara* after Śiva: after the *Mahārāsa* dance, it came to be known as *Maṇi-pura*. (Does this suggest the prevalence of Śaiva Hinduism before Vaishnavism became established in Manipur?)

The gods asked Śiva to reign over Manipur, but Śiva made the *Nāga* *Ananta* the ruler of Manipur instead. A subterranean path had been excavated in Manipur through the breath of Vishnu when he had incarnated himself as the Boar. Beside that cavity, on a hill, *Ananta-nāga* established his court and his throne. The images of *Kārttikeya* and *Gaṇeśa* were set up on either side of the entrance gate to the palace. A device to indicate the time was set up when the palace was ready. *Ananta-nāga* instituted the boat-race to please the gods, and the Gods and *Apsarases* were very pleased with this game. A sort of tug-of-war with a long pole instead of a rope was also instituted. And *Marjing* or *Kubera* invented the game of *Kang-jei* or the polo. The gods formed into two opposing parties of seven each and first played this game. They are pleased when this game is played: that is why when there are plagues or pestilences in the country, the *Maṇi-puris* offer polo-sticks and balls to the gods.

Thus *Ananta-nāga* became the first king of Manipur. After reigning for some time, he descended into his own place, *Pātāla* or the nether region. *Ananta-nāga's* connexion with Manipur is preserved in the figure of the

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Nāga being the special *insignium* of the Manipur rulers—a crowned serpent is many a complicated twist.

After Ananta-nāga, the Gandharva Citra-bhānu became the king of Manipur. There is no mention in the Manipur tradition of how he came to obtain the throne.

There is a pure Meithei tradition about the Creation of Man in Manipur which is preserved in the legend of *Loithak-loikharol* in Manipuri. It is said that Śiva first narrated this story of creation to Gaṇeśa. The tradition has it as follows.

The Supreme Lord *Atiya-Guru-Shidaba*, who lived in heaven (Meithei *Atiya*='sky or heaven,' *Guru*=Sanskrit='Master,' *Shi-daba*='immortal') decided to create mankind. He made a deity named *Kodin* issue out of his own body, and asked him to create a creature which by virtue of its birth will be subjected to death. *Kodin* then created seven apes and seven frogs, and placed them before *Guru Shidaba*. But *Guru Shidaba* was not pleased with these, as these did not possess sense of perception and discrimination between right and wrong. He told *Kodin*: 'Here I stand, make something in my form or shadow.' *Kodin* accordingly created a new shape, but he was powerless to endow it with life. Then *Guru Shidaba* gave it the breath of life from himself, and so man came into being. He let loose the frogs into water, and the apes into the hills. Man then came to live in the valley.

Then after this *Atiya-Guru-Shidaba* created the Sun (*Numit*), and the Moon (*Thā*), in the form of man. The Sun obtained the name of *Kojin-tu Thok-pa*, and the Moon *Ashiba*. Afterwards *Guru Shidaba* vanished from the earth.

Atiya-Guru-Shidaba had come out of the earth through the cavity which was created by the breath of Vishnu as the Boar. Seven *Apsarases* or goddesses had arrived on earth with him. These goddesses (each of whom has her name in Meithei) were married to the seven Planet-gods, and each of the divine couples had a son. These seven sons became the ancestors of the seven *Shaleis* or clans or septs, and these *Shaleis* have been identified with Brahmanical *gotras* or clans: Thus (1) *Angom*=Bhāradvāja, or Kauśika gotra; (2) *Ningthouja*=Śaṇḍilya; (3) *Luwang*=Kāśyapa; (4) *Khumol* or *Khumon*=Maudgalya (corrupted to Madhukulya); (5) *Khabangangba*=Naimiṣya, or Bhāradvāja; (6) *Moirang*=Ātreya; and (7) *Chengloi*=Bhāradvāja. The story of the seven clans being derived from these seven divine beings resembles the Hindu Puranic story of the seven celestial *ṛsis* or sages being the ancestors of the seven clans of Brahmins. According to another Meithei version of the legend, the seven *Shaleis* were derived not from the seven Planet-gods and their goddess wives, but from different parts of the body of *Guru Shidaba*. Like the Brāhman in the Hindu legend originating from the mouth of the Puruṣa or the Supreme Spirit or Brahmā, the Kshatriya from the arms, the Vaiśya from the thighs or loins, and the Śūdra from the feet, so the seven *Shaleis* came out of the right and left eye, right and left ear, right and left nostril, and the teeth of *Guru Shidaba*.

In the *Leithak-leikharol* and other works, we find other stories about the primitive gods of Manipur. One characteristic story is about *Pakhangba* or *Sentreng*, and *Shenamahi* or *Kuptreng*, two gods, sons of *Guru Shidaba*. They received their father's permission to descend to the earth, and came to Manipur. To test their love and respect for their father, *Guru Shidaba* took the form of a dead cow and came floating down the Vijayā river. The god *Sentreng* understood that this was *Guru Shidaba*, and the two brothers dragged the body out of the water. Then *Guru Shidaba* came out in his proper form, and said he was pleased with them, for they had recognised

him, and gave to Sentreng a new name—*Pakhāngba*, i.e., 'he who knows the father' (*Pa* = 'father', *khang-ba* = 'to know'). The two brothers then cut the carcass of the dead cow into seven pieces, and divided these among the founders of the seven *Shaleis* or clans. One of them received the two eyes and portions of the lower limbs, one the skull, one the heart, another the four feet, and so forth. The skin of the cow was dried at a place, which got the name of *Kangla* (from *Kang-ba* = 'to dry'). Then the seven ancestors of the *Shalei* clans performed a *yajña* or Vedic sacrifice in fire with parts of the cow's body. Thus in this old Kuki myth an Indo-Aryan touch has been added.

Guru Shidaba announced that he would make king whichever of the two brothers would be able to come back after making a tour round the whole world. Of the two brothers, Kuptreng or Shenamahi, left *Kangla* to make this tour; but acting according to the advice of the god *Leimaren-Shidabi*, Sentreng or *Pakhāngba* circumambulated round his father's throne seven times. Guru Shidaba was very pleased, and regarded this as equivalent to a tour round the whole world, and accordingly gave the kingdom to *Pakhāngba*. In the meanwhile, Kuptreng came back and found his brother already established as king. (There is a similar Hindu story that on one occasion *Ganeśa* and *Kārttikeya*, sons of *Śiva*, disputed who was greater, and *Ganeśa* decided to go round his mother *Pārvati*, as that was equivalent to a tour round the world, which *Kārttikeya* undertook to make on his peacock, to establish priority.) Now, Kuptreng decided to fight his brother, disputing his right to reign. *Pakhāngba* got frightened and took refuge among *Apsarases* or nymphs, and these latter received him with honour, and for his pleasure performed the *Augrihangel* dance. Kuptreng or *Shenamahi* then began to press upon the earth with his big toes; to kill *Pakhāngba*. At this Guru Shidaba came up from the nether regions—there the snake-king *Taoroi-nai* or *Ananta* was his vehicle. He made peace between the brothers by deciding that they were to rule alternately for one year. During the period of rest from kingship, the brothers would receive kingly offerings and worship from Manipur householders along with the god *Leimaren-Shidabi*. Then Guru Shidaba vanished from sight, and *Leimaren-Shidabi* explained to the two brothers that Guru Shidaba was the Supreme Spirit. Then the Lord *Śiva* as the five-faced deity showed himself, and the Sun-god like a burning fire showed himself with excessive brilliance.

It appears that the Gandharva king *Citra-bhānu* became ruler of Manipur after *Ananta-nāga* and the two brothers. A synthesis or combination with Brahmanical Purāṇa stories has now been effected. From *Brahmā* born out of the navel of *Vishṇu* was born *Marici*, from *Marici* came *Kaśyapa*, from *Kaśyapa* the Sun-god *Sūrya*, then successively the sage *Sāvama*, *Citra-ketu*, *Citra-dhvaja*, *Citra-bija*, *Citra-sarva*, *Citra-rāja*, and *Citra-bhānu*. From *Citra-ketu* onwards, these princes were Gandharvas. *Citrāṅgadā*, the only child of *Citra-bhānu*, was married to *Arjuna*, the Pāṇḍava prince, hero of the *Mahābhārata*. The son of *Arjuna* and *Citrāṅgadā* was *Babhrū-vāhana*, and his son was *Suprabāhu*, and *Suprabāhu*'s son was *Yavishṭha*.

The *Mahābhārata* and the Meithei Purāṇa have been sought to be synchronised in this way. Legends of *Arjuna*'s sojourn in Manipur are current among the Meitheis, and some spots in Manipur are associated with *Arjuna*'s visit. According to one version of the legend, *Yavishṭha* was the grandson of *Babhrū-vāhana* the son of *Arjuna*, but another version puts in 13 other kings between *Babhrū-vāhana* and *Yavishṭha*, of whom the first two only have Sanskrit names (*Kalāpa-candra*—rather modern looking name, and *Śakti*), and the remaining other names are in the Tyeto-Burman Meithei. *Yavishṭha* is also known as *Pakhāngba*. Possibly the

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earlier Pakhangba, son of Guru Shidaba, popular as a hero-king, was identified with a descendant of Arjuna. This Pakhangba is also a popular figure in Manipur. He has been placed by Manipur chronology to a date 74-194 A.D.: he is said to have reigned for an abnormally long period of 120 years.

Pakhangba, whoever he was, captured the imagination of the Meithei, and he may be looked upon as their first great king whose date, however, we cannot establish satisfactorily. He was the son of king *Ingou-yanba*. Some wonderful tales are told about his birth. His name was at first *Meidingu*, but later, probably emulating the earlier hero-king, he was renamed Pakhangba. His rule was remarkable for many reasons. Lists of the different clans and septs and families are said to have been made in his time, and these are still operative in the social affairs of the Meithei. He promulgated a coinage of thin bell-metal pieces which are still current and are known as *shel*. He inaugurated the writing of an annual chronicle which continued all through early Manipur history. The chronicle is known as *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, which is still waiting proper editing and publication. He is said to have fallen in love with *Laisra*, the daughter of a chief of the Makeng clan, and there is a romantic story connected with his love and marriage.

92. LATER MANIPUR HISTORY: THE STORY OF KHAMBA AND THOIBI

After Pakhangba, there is a long list of kings of Manipur right down to the modern times. The first rulers after Pakhangba have been given excessively long reigns, which shows that all this history has been a later fabrication, albeit the main events of these reigns have been given. All these kings are given two names—one Meithei, and the other Sanskrit. Thus, *Koiba-tomba* or *Kshema-candra*, *Konthouba* or *Kavi-candra Simha*, *Ayang-ba* or *Akhaṇḍa-pratāpa Simha*, etc. *Loyamba* or *Lavaṅga Simha* ruled from 1127 to 1154 A.D. It was during his time that the two most famous personalities of romance in Manipur, the hero *Khamba* and the princess *Thoibi*, are said to have lived and loved and died. The story of *Khamba* and *Thoibi* may be described as 'the national romantic tale' of the Meithei. There are ballads narrating the story which are still sung among the Manipur people, and we are told how the orphan boy *Khamba* and the princess *Thoibi* loved each other, how *Khamba* performed deeds of valour and prowess to win her, how they were finally married, and how their happy life ended in a tragedy through *Khamba*'s foolish suspicion about the fidelity of *Thoibi*. The popularity of this story (an English version of which has been given by T. C. Hodson in his book *The Meithei*, London, 1908) is proved by the fact that it has been treated into a huge poem of some 39,000 lines by a modern poet of Manipur (see § 36 ante).

93. MANIPUR HISTORY AFTER THE 15TH CENTURY: CHAITANYA VAISHNAVISM IN MANIPUR

From the Purāṇa stage we come down to sober history from the time of king *Kiyamba*, who lived in the 15th century. During his time both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava forms of Hinduism were current among the people, and Brahmins had begun to settle there. Meithei or Manipuri obtained an alphabet, probably in the time of *Kiyamba*, although a later date, 1700 A.D., has been suggested for it. It is an Indian alphabet, with rather complicated shapes of the letters, which appears to have been modelled on the Bengali alphabet. A knowledge of this alphabet was confined to the *Maibas* or

priests of the old Manipur religion—it never spread among the masses. A number of Manipuri MSS. giving old Meithei legends were written in it, and works on Manipur history and custom. But a knowledge of the script remained a specialised subject. The Manipuris accepted Chaitanya Vaishnavism from Bengal in the middle of the 18th century, and from that time they adopted the Bengali script, abandoning their old and complicated alphabet. Very little of the older traditional literature in the Manipuri script has been published. But there is a growing literature in modern Manipuri consisting of translations from the Sanskrit and Bengali, as well as English, and of original verse and prose works, which is written and printed in the Bengali script.

Bengali or Chaitanya Vaishnavism came to Manipur by way of Sylhet. It started from the beginning of the 18th century. Sylhet was the home of Chaitanya's father, although he himself was born at Nadiyā in 1487. Manipur Hinduism gradually became a synthesis of the old Meithei religion with its gods and goddesses and myths, its own legends and traditions, its social customs and usages, and its priests and ceremonies, and of Brahmanical Hinduism with its special worship of Rādhā and Krishna. The Rādhā-Krishna legend the Manipuris have made their own. Old pre-Hindu ritualistic dances like the *Lai-Haraoba* on 'the Gods' Rejoicing' were the basis on which the exquisitely charming *Rāsa* or Rādhā-Krishna dance-plays have been built up. The Manipuri *Rāsa* has been introduced to Bengal by resident Manipuris at Sylhet and elsewhere, and it was taken by Rabindranath Tagore in his school at Santiniketan, and now it has spread all over India. The Bengali or North Indian Hindu dress was adopted by the Manipuri men, and abstinence from the flesh of animals (though not from fish) as well as strict adherence to the formalities of Vaishnava religious practice and ways of life now mark off the Meitheis from other Kirāta peoples by whom they are surrounded, and give a special Hindu atmosphere and a distinction of culture to their life. Meithei influence is spreading among the other Kuki and the Naga tribes of the State, and the 5 lacs of people living in Manipur are all Manipuri Hindus, Meithei-speaking, *in esse* or *in posse*.

This intensive orientation towards Hindu culture through Bengal Vaishnavism started with king *Pamheiba* (1709–1748) *alias* Gopāl Simha or Gharib-nawāz. He may be said to be the founder of the fame of the present Manipur house. Gharib-nawāz fought the Burmese from 1725 onwards, and on one occasion pushed as far as Ava, the Burmese capital. His son, however, revolted against him to seize power himself, and he was murdered at the instance of this son. The Burmese wars went on, and the Manipuris were hard pressed, and in 1768 they sought help from the English in Bengal, then scarcely established there. After him ruled *Moramba* or *Gaura-śyāma* Simha, who was a staunch Vaishnava. *Chingthang-khomba* or *Bhāgya-Chandra* Jaya Simha (1759–1798) helped to bring about still more intensive Vaishnavisation of the Manipur people. From his time, in the place of the old thin fragments of bell-metal used as coins, a Manipuri coinage came in, rather crude in form, in which only the initial letters of the names of the king were given.

King Gambhīr Simha (*Chinglen Nongdren-khomba*), who ruled from 1825 to 1853, was a good soldier, and he pushed as far as Kohima in the heart of the Naga country, in 1833, where he has left an inscribed memorial stone with symbolical devices to mark his victorious sojourn. He had extended the boundaries of Manipur.

The subsequent history of Manipur is nothing remarkable. A series of weak rulers followed, and the kingdom was reduced to its position as a

94. THE CULTURE OF MANIPUR

95. THE KHASIS AND THE SYNTENG: 'SYTENG' = 'JAYANTA, JAINTIA':
THE OLD HINDU KINGDOM OF JAYANTA-PURA

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to have been taken by the Synteng section of the Khasi people, who from their geographical relationship to the Khasis proper of Shillong and the Khasi Hills, can be described as Eastern Khasis, as the Wār form Southern Khasis, and the Lynggam are the South-western tribe. These Eastern Khasis are now known as *Syntengs* (the word has been spelled according to the system of Romanisation applied to Khasi by the Welsh missionaries, in which system the letter *y* has its Welsh value, which is like that of the *u* in the English word *sun* or the short *ā* of Hindi and Sanskrit: *Synteng*, therefore, represents a pronunciation like *sānten*). Khasi was first reduced to writing with the Bengali characters during the late 18th century, it is said; but only with the application of the Roman alphabet and the creation of a literature of translations and of folk tales by the Christian missionaries during the last quarter of the last century that the Khasi language may be said to have possessed authentic records. As in the case of all languages which have no early written records, it is difficult to trace their history, particularly in their sounds. The form *Synteng* (= *sānten*) gives the modern pronunciation: but it is quite in the nature of things that an earlier pronunciation of the word some 500 years ago was **zainten*. The Wār tribe, now quite a small one, which lives in the part of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills adjoining Sylhet, was in all likelihood a branch of the Syntengs; and possibly the Wār have not differentiated themselves much. In the Wār dialect, we find frequently initial *z*- in place of the *s*- in the other dialects. The phonetic law or the line of phonological change is not known: but *z*- may be the earlier sound, just as Khasi *ś* appears to have developed out of an earlier *c*. Thus, Wār has *zia*, *zan*, 'four, five' = *sāw*, *san* in the standard dialect. It was thus easy for *Synteng* = **zainten*, or *zānten* to be Sanskritised in the mouths of the Aryan speakers as *Jayantā*, *Jayantī* (*j* has the value of *dz* or *z* in East Bengali and Assamese): and the capital of the Jaintia or Hindu Khasi kingdom, in South Khasi-land, came to be known as *Jayantī-pura*. The Western Khasis remained out of the Hindu pale, and their State was known as the State of Khyrim, with its capital at Nongkrem near Shillong. Khyrim and Jayanta or Jaintia from the beginning seem to have been separate states.

A Hinduised Jayantā or Jaintia State appears to have been in existence by 1500 A.D., and the first king whose name we know is *Parvata-rāja* 'Lord of the Hills', which is more a sobriquet than a name. The Jaintias are said to have ousted a race of Brahman kings ruling on the plains of North Sylhet; and according to Assamese accounts, the Jaintia kings are said to have been Brahmans. But that is wrong, as much as a story giving the origin of the name *Khasi*, which is derived from the word meaning 'castrated', a word of Arabic origin and Mohammadan provenance. The Khasi and Synteng traditions about their line are not preserved. But there is a legend in an Assamese *Buranji* describing how the first Jaintia king was the son of a degraded Brahman named Lāndhābar (who used to live as a Garo and took the name of Suttangā after a Garo who had adopted him as a son) and a girl miraculously born of a fish. The Jaintia kings first came into prominence in the 16th century, when the Koch king Nāra-nārāyaṇa's forces invaded and conquered the Jaintia country. The Jaintias fought mostly with their eastern neighbours the Kacharis, and sometimes they came into conflict with the Ahoms also. We have list of Jaintia kings with Hindu names from the 16th century onwards, who appear to have been historical persons. Rāma Simha the Jaintia king (1697-1708) waged war on Tāmra-dhvaja, the Kachari king, and both of them were made his vassals by the Ahom king Rudra Simha (Su-krung-pha). Rāma Simha was quite a spirited prince. There was no outstanding personality, however, among the

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Jaintias, and after a series of unimportant kings the Jaintia State was annexed to Bengal by the British in 1835.

The Jaintia ruling house was perhaps fully Hinduised—they were staunch Śāktas, and the temple of the Goddess Jayanti, a form of Dūrgā, in Jayanta-pura, the capital of the Jaintias, became famous all over Bengal and a great part of India as one of the 51 *pīthas* or sacred Śākta shrines. The Jaintia kings used to offer human sacrifices before the goddess (generally condemned criminals: sometimes the victims were self-chosen, who were given great honour and were allowed to do whatever they liked). The Hinduism of the masses was not very deep, and the matriarchal system of succession (the king's sister's son succeeding him, and not his own son) was in vogue in the Jaintia kingdom. Khasis and Syntengs were given high posts, and the royal family never cut itself adrift from its original Khasi antecedents by affecting Kshatriya origin: marriages of members of the ruling house with full-blooded Khasis who followed their own way of life and their original religion appears to have been quite the rule, as we see, for instance, from an interesting ballad in Sylhet Bengali (the *Sōnāḍhanēr Gīt*, edited by Śrī Rājmoḥan Nāth, B.E., Tattvabhushana, Executive Engineer, and published from the Śrīhaṭṭa Sāhitya Parishad of Sylhet, 1947) in which a Jaintia princess falls in love with a Khasi young man whom she has seen in the street from her palace, and ultimately they are married, the young Khasi who is given a Hindu name Lakshmi Siṃha becoming the king-consort, as the princess already had inherited her father's realm as queen.

The Khasis did not have as striking a past as the Koches, the Tipras and the Ahoms, but they are a gifted race, highly intelligent, and they are taking the fullest advantage of modern education. Of all the Indo-Mongoloid peoples who have kept up their language and customs and traditions (except where Christianity has effected inevitable changes and breaks), the Khasis are the most advanced and most progressive. Shillong the capital of Assam being within Khasi territory has had of course something to do with Khasi progress; and, of course, there were the Christian missionaries, Protestant and Roman Catholic. A good many Khasis have felt attracted to the ideals and philosophy of Hinduism in recent years. The Khasis have a strong sense of tribal patriotism, and the Roman Catholic fathers of St. Anthony's College, Shillong, have been instrumental in inaugurating a study of their tribal culture, including laws and customs, songs and traditions, etc., which they are publishing in a very useful and well got up series of books in Khasi (10 volumes projected, from 1936 onwards; up to 1947, five volumes have been published; the works and information were kindly supplied to me by Mr. Theodore Cajee, B.Sc., B.L., B.T., of Laitumkhrāh, Shillong).

This Indo-Mongoloid people, though numbering not even half-a-million, have made its language and literature (entirely Christian and European in spirit) a subject for study in colleges. They have established their position among the various groups of people that go to make up the Indian nation.

96. THE EARLY INDO-MONGOLOID KINGS OF CHITTAGONG AND ARAKAN

The district of Chittagong, now entirely Bengali-speaking, is linguistically a continuation of Comilla and Noakhali. The Bengali of Chittagong has undergone some noted developments, but on a Comilla and Noakhali basis: and in phonetics and phonology and syntax, if not so much in morphology, Chittagong Bengali undoubtedly shows a strong influence of the earlier languages which have receded before Bengali. The Chakma dialect of Bengali, spoken by the Buddhist Chakma tribe living in Chittagong Hills

District, is Chittagong Bengali, with some features which connect it with West Bengali and Assamese.

Nothing is known about the early history of Chittagong and the tract in Burma contiguous to it, viz. Arakan. The original inhabitants might have been Aastro-Asiatics allied to the Khasis on the one hand and the Mons or Talaings on the other—possibly they were more closely related to the Mons. Later they were overlaid by Bodo-speaking Sino-Tibetans from Comilla and Noakhali in Bengal, and by Kuki-Chin speakers of the same 'race' from the Chittagong Hills. It is not known when Mran-mā or Burmese-speaking tribes from the northern part of the Irrawaddy valley crossed the Arakan Yoma Mountains and settled in Arakan and gradually made the whole tract Burmese in speech. The Arakan dialect of Burmese preserves some archaic features in pronunciation, e.g. the retention of the *r* sound, which becomes *y* in standard Burmese. The Burmese (Mran-mā) people consolidated themselves in Pagan in the 11th century, and after that they entered into a life-and-death struggle with their Mon neighbours in the South, which led, after seven centuries, to the final suppression of the Mons, forcing them (or rather their language) to a small tract at the head of the Gulf of Martaban, and Burmanising the whole of Central and Lower Burma. Their penetration into Arakan would date from a period after 1200.

While Austro-Asiatic Arakanese and Sino-Tibetans (Bodos and Kukis—and not Mran-mās or Burmans as yet) occupied Chittagong and Arakan, Brahmanical and Buddhist culture together with an influx of Aryan speakers arrived in this area, in the early centuries of the Christian era. Brahmins from Bengal came to Chittagong and spread into Arakan also; and Kshatriya and other adventurers from Eastern U.P. also arrived, and made settlements and established themselves in Arakan. The city of Vesali or Vaisāli was built by them near the present town of Mrohaung (or Myohaung) near Akyab. Close connexions were maintained with Brahmanical and Buddhist Bengal on the one hand, and with the Irrawaddy valley Mons and later Burmese on the other. Local princely houses, Brahmanical as well as Buddhist, using Sanskrit in their inscriptions (showing the presence of a considerable Brahman element in the population), are found to flourish from the early centuries of the Christian era for over a thousand years, till after 1200 A.D. Arakan really became a part of India, and Indian (Bengali) influences continued right down to the 17th-18th centuries, long after the country in its language and national affiliation became Burmese. The Arakan court was an important centre for Bengali literature in the 17th century, when Bengali-speaking Muslims from Chittagong served the Burmese-speaking and Buddhist Arakanese kings in various capacities, and patronised Muslim Bengali poets like Daulat Kāzī and Ālāol; and the city of Roshang in Arakan was an important Brahman centre, from where Bengali Brahmins speaking Chittagong Bengali migrated to Ava and Amara-pura and Mandalay at the invitation of Aloungpra and other Burmese kings and established themselves there.

The achievements of Indo-Mongoloid kings in Chittagong and Arakan, particularly during the first millennium A.D., are not fully known. Later Arakanese chronicles in Burmese give some garbled versions, tracing the foundation of Brahmanical dynasties to the 2nd century A.D. But these chronicles do not let us have any positive evidence about the affinities of the people, nor are they reliable about the succession of rulers, or ruling houses even, and their dates.

A number of Sanskrit inscriptions and coins going back to the middle of the 1st millennium A.D., however, give the impression of Arakan (or rather North Arakan) being really the easternmost outpost of India. The most

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important of these inscriptions, though not the oldest, is that of a king Ānanda-candra, inscribed in the eastern form of the Indian alphabet as current in Bengal in the early part of the 8th century. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription, which is a fairly long one, gives 65 verses in different metres, with a few lines of prose in the middle. It is on a face of a stone pillar in the Sitthaung Pagoda in Mrohaung in Arakan. It is of the nature of a *Praśasti* or Panegyric of the king Ānanda-candra; and before dwelling upon his achievements as a powerful king and builder of Buddhist and Brahmanical temples and monasteries, his largesses to the Buddhist monks and his offerings to Buddhist temples, his excavation of wells and restoration of old temples, and his marriage with Dhendā, the daughter of the Śaiva Andhra king Manodhira of Tāmra-pattana (a place not yet identified), the first 43 verses form a sort of chronicle for Arakan (Vesālī) for some 547 years, giving lists of kings and ruling houses who ruled in Arakan (the first 200 years being rather mythological). Coins have been found which bear some of the names given in the list of Arakan kings prior to Ānanda-candra who set up the inscription. Three dynasties are mentioned, with some intervening kings between the second and third dynasties. Most of the names of rulers throughout this long period of over 500 years are in Sanskrit, but some names are in one (or more) non-Aryan speech (or speeches) which cannot be properly made out. Thus, the fourth and fifth kings of the first dynasty are Bahu-balin and Raghu-pati (the first three names are not legible in the inscription), and the third king is Candrodaya. They are given mythologically long reigns of 120 years each. Then we have some *Annaveṭa* kings who ruled only for 5 years: the name *Annaveṭa* probably suggests some indigenous rulers. After another king, whose name is lost, and who ruled for the improbable period of 77 years, we have some 6 rulers with non-Sanskritic names, *Rim̐bhyaṭṭa*, Queen *Kūvērāmi*, her husband *Uṃavīrya*, then *Jugna*, and *Lāṅki* or *Līṅki*. After *Lāṅki* we have *Dvēṇ Candra*, the founder of a dynasty, attested partly by coins, of 13 successive rulers, each bearing the name *Candra* (*Dvēṇ Candra*, *Rāja-candra*, *Kāla-candra*, *Devacandra*, *Yajña-candra*, *Candra-bandhu*, *Bhūmi-candra*, *Bhūti-candra*, *Nitī-candra*, *Vīrya-candra*, *Prīti-candra*, *Prthvī-candra* and *Dhṛti-candra*), their total rule amounting to 230 years—a period corroborated by the Arakan Burmese Chronicles, though the dates are later. We have thus a *Candra* dynasty of Arakan, which might have been connected with a similar *Candra* dynasty of kings in East Bengal, who ruled during the 10th-11th centuries (see *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Hindu Period, ed. by R. C. Majumdar and published by the University of Dacca, 1943, pp. 192-197).

After *Dhṛti-candra*, the *Candra* power failed, and *Mahāvīra*, king of Pureppura, became king of Arakan (Vesālī). After *Mahāvīra* came two kings with non-Aryan names—*Vrayajap* (or *Brayajap*) and *Sēvinrēṇ*—names of unknown meaning and origin. Then came *Vajra-śakti*.

Vajra-śakti was the founder of the house to which Ānanda-candra belonged. The family was described as *dēvaṇḍaja* and *dharmarājāṇḍaja* family: a name which is not clear—it was probably some totemistic name which was then well-understood. The kings were Buddhists after *Vajra-śakti*—*Dharma-vijaya*, *Narendra-vijaya*, *Vīra-narendra-candra*, and then *Ānanda-candra*. He was impartially a supporter of Buddhism and Brahmanism, and Brahmans were settled in *maṭhas* or monasteries, as much as Buddhists in *vihāras*.

Names of other kings are found in later inscriptions—two with an element *Śūra-candra* (viz. *Simha-gaṇapati-Śūracandra* and *Simha-vikrama-Śūracandra*) are found, who belonged to the 10th century. Some place-names are found, which suggest pre-Aryan place-names in Bengal

inscriptions—e.g. *Naulakka*, *Domagha*, *Dan̄kaṅgāmargaṅga dūvāra* and *Bhūrokanaulakkala-vāraka*.

This single inscription gives us a good deal about the *milieu* for Brahmanisation or Indianisation of the Kirāta peoples of Chittagong and North Arakan before the 8th century. (See † E. H. Johnston, 'Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan' in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London, Vol. XI, 1943-46, pp. 357-385.)

97. THE KIRĀTA WORLD BEYOND INDIA

The lands to the East of India up to the China Sea were known to the Greeks and Romans as *India beyond the Ganges* ('India extra Gangem'), or *Farther India* as it has been Englished (or *Pratara Bhārata*, as it can be Sanskritised). We have in this area Burma, and beyond Burma, Siam and French Indo-China (Viet-nam). The peoples are either Austro-Asiatic (the Mons and Khmers, and the less important or backward peoples like the Paloung and the Wa in Burma, and several small tribes in Indo-China) or Sino-Tibetan (the Burmese and other Tibeto-Burmans in Burma, the Karens, and the various ramifications of the Thai or Shan people); and besides there were the Chams or Champa people, equally Austrie with the Mons and the Khmers, and the Viet-nam people (Tonkinese, Annamites), whose exact linguistic affinity is not known—they are probably Austrie at base, with strong Thai and Sinic influences. The Austries—Mons in South Burma and South Siam, and Khmers in Cambodia—received Indian culture by both land and sea as in the case of Burma, and by sea (Indo-China), and they passed it on (with Brahmanical and Buddhist religion and literature, Indian writing, Indian arts and crafts, etc.) to their northern neighbours the Tibeto-Chinese Burmans and Pyus, and the Sino-Tibetan Thai. We have in this vast area a continuation of what we see in Assam and Eastern India: a large population of Mongoloids, who became Indianised in religion and culture. The Aryan language penetrated, but only as a culture drift—it could not create a place for itself as a spoken language. Brahman priestly preachers and teachers and Kshatriya adventurers penetrated into this area from early, possibly pre-Christian, times, by way of Assam and East Bengal, and by way of the sea from South Bengal, Orissa and the Telugu and Tamil coasts, and they gave the intellectual and ruling aristocracy. It was a projection of India into a Sino-Tibetan and Austrie world.

To complete the picture of the achievements of the Kirāta people outside the geographical limits of India when they accepted Indian religion, culture and letters, a history of the Mons, the Burmese, the Pyus, the Thai in their various branches, of the Khmers and the Chams, and partly of the Viet-namese, will be necessary. But such an extended study is beyond the scope of the present monograph, and special works on Burmese and Indo-Chinese history and civilisation (as expressed, among other things, in Burmese and Siamese architecture and drama and other arts, the architecture and art of the Khmers and Chams, etc.) are to be consulted. (For a brief *résumé* of this phase of Indian cultural expansion, Sir Richard Carnac Temple's excellent survey of Burmese and Indo-Chinese history, traditional and otherwise, with chronological statements, as published in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1916, pp. 39ff., is to be mentioned.)

98. CONCLUSION

In the above pages I have tried to give a short survey of the nature of Kirāta or Indo-Mongoloid participation in Indian history and their

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contribution in the evolution of Hindu or Indian culture for the last 2,000 years. The Kirātas or Indo-Mongoloids from the Vedic times onwards have been the fourth basic element in the formation of the Indian people, and we find them taking their share in Hindu history, beginning with the battle of Kurukshetra, from the 10th century before Christ. Kirāta or Indo-Mongoloid influences may have affected the life and religion of the Vedic Aryans as well. The question of Kirāta influences in the life of the Pāṇḍavas still remains an open question. The greatest international personality of ancient India, Buddha, who is among the greatest thought-leaders and teachers of mankind, and who embodies in himself the principles of *Ahimsā*, *Karūṇā* and *Maitrī*—of Non-injury, Mercy and Charity, which are so characteristic of India, was, for aught we know, of pure or mixed Indo-Mongoloid origin; and through him and other personalities, we have a material and spiritual kinship with the Buddhist Mongoloid world.

The study of this aspect of the evolution of Indian culture and history has not been done proper justice to as yet. Many of us are not as yet alive to the nature and importance of the problems. Closer study through the various human sciences should be carried on with greater intensiveness—through Anthropology (some work has been done in this, the University of Calcutta through its Department of Anthropology taking its humble share), through Linguistics, through Sociology, through Comparative Religion and through Political History. From even a broad survey of these studies, we can see that, at least in the areas where they established themselves, they furnished a new and a fourth element, and quite a powerful one, in the formation of medieval Hindu religion and culture.

Closely interlinked as the various groups of the Indo-Mongoloids were with the affairs of India for over 2,500 years, and considering also the brilliant part they played in becoming the champions of Hindu culture and fighters in the protracted war for Hindu political freedom in North and East Bengal and Assam, they have become an integral part of the body-politic in India, from the deathless story of which land it will never be possible to minimise or relegate to oblivion their services and their contribution. Can we think of Indian History and Civilisation, particularly in Eastern India, without the contributions of the Licchavis and the Newars, the Koch, Kachari, Tipra and other Bodo peoples (details of whose services are now matters of research), the Ahoms, the Jaintias, and the Manipuris?

Addendum to § 80. The element *kēra*, *kēla* in place names occurs in Northern and Western Orissa also : e.g. Saraikelā (*Saḍhaikēlā* in Oriya) to the north of Mayurbhanj, Jaraikelā in South Singhbhum, Kumārkerā, Birkerā and Jaraikelā in Gangpur, Laikerā in Sambalpur, Jamunkirā in Bamra, and a village Jaraikelā to the west of Jaipur town in Koraput in West Orissa. The presence of Kirāta tribes as far as North Orissa has been suggested by a passage in the Peryplus of the Erythrean Sea (§ 26), and the opinion has been expressed by an authority like J. H. Hutton that 'there is a slight but definite Mongoloid element' among an important Gond tribe of Central India, the Marias of Bastar. Points of contact or agreement between the cultures of the Austric and Dravidian aborigines of Central India and of the Mongoloids of Assam have also been noted (cf. Introduction by J. H. Hutton to the *Maria Gonds of Eastar* by N. V. Grigson, I.C.S., Oxford University Press, 1938).

ICONOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF AN ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT OF
THE AṢṬASĀHASRIKĀ PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ IN THE ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, CALCUTTA

By MONOTOSH MOOKERJEE

(Received March 21, 1950)

A palm leaf manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (No. G. 4713) in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal was copied, according to the post-colophon statement at the end, at Nālandā in the sixth year of the auspicious reign of *Paramabhaddāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramasaugata Śrīman-Mahīpāladeva*, who meditated on the feet of *Paramabhaddāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramasaugata Śrīmad-Vigrahapāladeva*.¹ Another manuscript of the same work, copied in the fifth year of the reign of *Parameśvara Paramabhaddāraka Paramasaugata Mahārājādhirāja Śrīman-Mahīpāladeva*, is now preserved in the University Library, Cambridge (No. Add. 1464).² The characters of both the manuscripts are what is generally known as *Kūṭila* and the palaeography would place the manuscripts about the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. The Mahīpāladevas of the two manuscripts are apparently one and the same person and identical with Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal who came to the throne about the year 988 A.D.³

Both these manuscripts contain illuminations on the folios as well as on the inner sides of the two covers. Following, to a certain extent, the contemporary idiom of Pāla sculpture, they furnish the earliest extant records of Eastern Indian book painting, and provide significant landmarks for a period when documents of Indian pictorial art are extremely rare. Manuscript paintings of the period have been studied by more than one scholar, but the majority of the documents being Nepalese the emphasis in such studies is more on the Nepalese practice than on the Eastern Indian. Much of the inspiration in the art of Nepal has to be traced to Eastern India and a study of the miniature painting of Eastern India as such is likely to throw valuable light not only on contemporary Indian painting but also on that of Nepal.

In the present paper is attempted an analytical study of the paintings of the R.A.S.B. MS. No. G. 4713, copied in the sixth year of Mahīpāla I.

The first cover has, on the inside, the illuminated representations of the five Dhyānī Buddhas, namely, Ratnasambhava, Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi, beginning from the left. These celestial Buddhas are held in high esteem in the Mahāyāna doctrine and supply the framework, so to say, of the Buddhist pantheon. Independent images of the Dhyānī Buddhas, either singly or in a group, are extremely rare. But not infrequently they are found to appear in a group of five among the illuminations of the Buddhist manuscripts.

The Dhyānī Buddhas are all very much alike to one another. Each of them is represented as seated cross-legged on a full blown lotus wearing a monk's dress which leaves the right shoulder and arm bare. No ornaments bedeck his person. The eyes are shown half-closed in meditation. The head is covered by the conventional curls, part of which is gathered upwards in a top-knot. A large aureole surrounds the body, and a halo, the head.

In spite of a similarity in the composition, the five Dhyānī Buddhas are distinguished, one from the other, by their complexions and handposes.⁴ In these respects the representations here clearly follow the prescriptions of the *Sādhanā*, Ratnasambhava being characterized by the yellow colour and *varada-mudrā*, Akṣobhya by blue colour and *bhūsparśa* (Pl. IX, Fig. 1), Vairocana by white colour and *dharmaśakra-pravartana-mudrā*, Amitābha by red colour and *dhyāna* or *śamādhi-mudrā* and Amoghasiddhi by green colour and *abhaya-mudrā*.

The second cover is likewise illuminated on the inside, but owing to its damaged condition it is difficult to identify the representations definitely. The composition divides the painted surface into three distinct units, the central showing a group of three figures flanked by two more divinities on the two sides. In the central unit there appears in the middle a divine figure seated cross-legged on a lotus, the two hands being shown near the breast in *dharmaśakra-pravartana-mudrā*. The upper part of the body, in spite of the adamant pose of the figure, exhibits a slight flexion (*bhaṅga*). There are two attendant male figures on the two sides, each seated in *lalitāsana* with one hand resting on the seat and the other held near the breast. Other details, however, have been obliterated. The central figure, if a female one, represents, very possibly, the goddess Prajñāpāramitā flanked by two attendant divinities. The position of honour in the centre of the cover appears to support this identification, as on several manuscripts the goddess Prajñāpāramitā is known to have occupied a similar position.

On the left side of this cover there is the representation of the Buddha seated cross-legged on a lotus in *bhūmiśparśa-mudrā*. Evidently the representation is that of the Vajrāsana Buddha which symbolizes the Great Enlightenment at Bodhgaya. Individual representations of the Buddha in this pose and attitude are very popular in Eastern India, in sculpture as well as in painting, and it is quite in the fitness of things that in a manuscript, copied at Nālandā, an identical representation should appear as a sacred piece, apart from its usual significance in connection with the incidents in the life of the Buddha. On the right side of the cover is represented again a figure, in all probability a god, with two hands in *dharmaśakra-pravartana-mudrā*. Other details lacking, the figure may tentatively be identified as that of Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist god of wisdom.

Besides the covers, the first two and the last two folios (each measuring $21\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ ") contain each three illuminated panels, one at the centre and two on the two sides. The side panels represent each an incident in the life of the Buddha,⁵ making a total of the eight conventional scenes. The four central panels on the four folios represent four divinities of the Mahāyāna pantheon.

The scenes from the life of the Buddha, traditionally known also as 'miracles', begin from proper right on each illuminated folio. The first panel on the first folio introduces to us the scene of the Nativity of the Buddha in the Lumbini garden.

(1) In the panel (Pl. IX, Fig. 2) the queen Māyā is seen standing in *tri-bhaṅga* pose with the right hand holding the branches of a tree (*śāla tree*)⁶ and the left supported on the shoulders of her attendant, shown to the left, who is apparently her sister Mahāprajāpati. The tree is said to have bent down of its own accord. The baby Buddha is found coming out of the right side of Māyā. A divine figure, seen to the proper left, no doubt represents the god Śakra (Indra) who is known to have received the baby. The figure of the baby has been repeated in between Māyā and Indra. This, no doubt, represents the taking of the seven steps, after which incident the baby declares himself to be the foremost of the world. The yellow complexion

of Māyā, Indra and the baby and the green of the attendant figure produce an effect of strong contrast with the red background. The figures of the Queen, the Baby Buddha and Indra are distinguished by halos round their heads. Each figure is characterized by extreme flexions of the body, and wavy and bulging curves. The composition is of the usual conventional order and similar representations are common in contemporary sculptures and paintings.

(2) The last panel in the first folio reproduces the Buddha, yellow in colour and with a halo around the head, seated cross-legged on a lotus in *bhūmiṣparśa-mudrā* under the spreading foliage of a tree. A red drapery covers the body but leaves the right shoulder bare. There are two more figures on two sides of the Buddha, each with a halo round the head. The figure to the left is white in colour and has two hands, the left resting on the thighs and the right held near the breast in *jñāna-mudrā*. The figure to the right is yellow in colour and has two hands, but the attributes are not recognizable. The upper part of the body is bare in each case, the body being decked with the usual ornaments. The hair is dressed up with bejewelled clasps in front. The panel apparently illustrates the incident of the Great Enlightenment which happened under the Bodhi tree at Bodhgaya. The various texts have long accounts of the series of episodes, including the encounter with Māra, leading to the attainment of the supreme wisdom. The different stages have been simplified to a conventional and stereotyped formula consisting of the *vajrāsana* pose, the *bhūmiṣparśa-mudrā* and the Bodhi tree, which collectively stand for this famous event. The Bodhi tree symbolizes the location, the *vajrāsana* pose the grim resolve not to leave the seat until *bodhi* is achieved,⁷ and the *bhūmiṣparśa-mudrā*, the episode of calling the mother Earth to witness in the contest with Māra. The two attendant figures may represent two of the celestial beings who are said to have approached the seat of Enlightenment after the defeat of Māra.

(3) The second folio contains three separate panels two in the two corners of the leaf and one in the middle. The panel in the right represents the figure of the Buddha, yellow in colour and with red drapery covering the entire body, seated cross-legged on a lotus seat with a cushion behind him. The two hands are placed near the breast in what is known as the *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*. On either side of the central figure are seen two attending figures, each green in colour and in *añjali* pose, and fully draped in yellow. In front of the seat are seen the effigies of two deer with a *dharmacakra* in between. The panel evidently represents the scene of the first sermon, figuratively known as the *dharmacakrapravartana* or 'turning of the wheel of the Law', which was proclaimed in the deer forest (Mṛgadāva) at holy Rṣipatana (modern Sarnath). The two attendant figures represent two of the five Bhadravargiya ascetics, before whom the Buddha preached his first sermon. The two deer and the wheel in front of the seat represent this epoch-making incident symbolically.

(4) The last panel in folio 2 depicts the fully draped figure of the Buddha, yellow in colour, seated cross-legged in the *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*. Two more figures, each in a similar pose, are seen on the two sides. All the figures are distinguished by halos around the heads, the central one having a *prabhāmaṇḍala* besides. This panel represents the scene of the Great Miracle (*mahāprātihārya*) which happened at Śrāvastī, the capital of Kośala. It being an important event with far-reaching consequences for the religion of the Buddha, the story may be given here in a nutshell.⁸ At Rājagṛha there were six tīrthika teachers who, having lost their esteem on account of the growing popularity of the Buddha and his religion, determined to hold a contest of miraculous feats whereby they

hoped to bring about the discomfiture of the Buddha. At Śrāvastī the contest was arranged for and King Prasenajit built a special pavilion (*prātihārya-maṇḍapa*) for the purpose. On the appointed day the king reached the pavilion with his retinue and the heretics also. While they were thus waiting, the Buddha came there travelling through the air. The whole world became flooded in the golden light and as the Buddha placed his feet on the ground, the earth began to move and tremble while the sun and the moon to shine together. As he was seated rays began to emanate from his body and the *maṇḍapa* was filled with golden light. Next, as he rose in the air and appeared in all directions, fire and water began to emanate alternately from the upper and lower parts of his body. The miracles of the fire and water were known as the *yamakapratihārya* (literally 'twin miracles'). The gods headed by Brahmā and Śakra appeared on the scene and took their seats. Thereafter a thousand-petalled lotus resting on a jewel-stem sprang up supported by the Nāga kings, Nanda and Upānanda. The Buddha took his seat on the lotus and created multiple representations of himself which went up as far as the highest heaven. The heretical teachers, discomfited at the succession of miraculous events, dared not show their own feats, and were finally confounded by a violent thunder-storm and obliged to flee away. The supreme position of the Buddha was thus indicated, and he preached the law before the huge assembly of people that had come to witness the Miracle. The Śrāvastī episode has been a favourite theme in Buddhist art from very early times. The earlier representations, as we find at Sanchi, Gandhara, etc., were usually very elaborated ones; they attempted to depict a few of successive events ultimately leading to the multiple representations of the Buddha which constitute the Great Miracle, *mahāpratihārya*. In later representations the earlier episode, i.e. *yamakapratihārya* has been invariably omitted, probably because of the fact that there is disagreement amongst the different authorities regarding the situation and actor of the story. It is neither particular to Śrāvastī, nor is it exclusively the achievement of the Buddha, but shared by a number of persons and śramaṇas. In the later period hence the representation was confined to that of the Great Miracle,⁹ and that too in a stereotyped composition of a central figure of the Buddha in preaching attitude with similar effigies around. This has been the usual mode of representing the theme in sculpture as well as in painting from the Gupta period onwards. In still later times the composition was further simplified, there being only two accessory representations of the Buddha, as we find in sculpture and painting of the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. In this respect the present miniature closely agrees with contemporary representations of the miracle.

(5) The right-hand panel (Pl. X, Fig. 3) in the last but one folio depicts three figures, the central figure being that of the Buddha, yellow in colour and standing with the right hand shown in *varada*. A red drapery covers the whole body down to the ankles leaving the right shoulder and the arm bare. The red *prabhāmaṇḍala* and the halo are shown as usual. On the right of the Buddha stands a god, white in colour and with more than one head crowned by a *jaṭāmukuta*. Of the two hands a waterpot can be recognized in the left. To the left of the Buddha stands another god yellow in colour and with a crowned tiara over the head. The attributes in the two hands are not recognizable. This particular figure can be identified as that of Śakra on account of the representations of eyes shown on the body, an iconographic peculiarity of which we have a parallel in the Brahmanical descriptions of the God Indra. The figure to the right is that of Brahmā as is clear from additional heads and from the water jug

held in the hand. Two trees are seen on either side in blue background. The panel no doubt represents the scene of the descent of the Buddha from the Trayastrimśa heaven where he went to expound the *Abhidharma* to his mother and other gods. He is said to have descended down to the earth at the city of Sāṅkāśya (modern Sankisa) by a ladder of beryl accompanied by Brahmā and Indra on his right and left respectively.¹⁰

(6) The last panel on this folio depicts the Buddha, yellow in colour, standing with *abhaya* in the right hand, the left holding the red drapery, which leaves the right shoulder and arm bare. There is the usual *prabhāmaṇḍala* around the body and the halo round the head. The background is blue and a tree with heavy foliage may be seen over the head of the Buddha with two other trees on either side. To right and left of the Buddha appear two other figures each in the robe and attitude of a mendicant and with an alms bowl in one of the hands. In the foreground is seen the figure of a white elephant, repeated twice, once with uplifted trunk and then bending down before the Buddha. The panel should evidently be identified as the well-known scene of the taming of the mad elephant, Nālagiri, whom Devadatta, the wicked cousin of the Buddha, let loose to bring about his death. Stories of Devadatta's attempts to encompass the death of the Buddha are well known. First, he tried to kill him with the help of hired assassins, next by hurling down a rock upon him, and again by letting loose a mad elephant when the Master was out on a begging round, all these events happening in quick succession at Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha. It is this last episode which has been frequently represented in art. It is said that the raging elephant was tamed down by the supernatural powers of the Buddha and thereby the attempt of his wicked cousin was foiled. The two figures of monks on either side may represent two of his devoted disciples who accompanied him on this occasion.

(7) The last folio contains also the same type of miniatures. The panel on the right (Pl. X, Fig. 4) depicts the Buddha, yellow in colour, seated on a cot-like seat with a blue cushion at the back. The *prabhāmaṇḍala* is red and the background is blue. A red drapery covers the body leaving the right shoulder and arm bare. In the foreground are seen figures of monkeys approaching the Buddha who is in the attitude of receiving something from them. In the background to the left may be seen a tree. The panel can easily be identified as the scene of the offering of a bowl of honey to the Buddha in a mango grove of Vaiśālī by some monkeys. The tree in the left evidently indicates the location of the event.

(8) The last panel (Pl. XI, Fig. 5) on this folio shows the Buddha, yellow in colour, reclining on his right on an ornamental cot. Behind the head of the cot is a tree with large green foliage balanced by another on the right. There is the effigy of a *stūpa* in the background, which is blue, and on one side of the cot appears a figure in the robe of a mendicant with an offering of garlands. The body of the Buddha is covered with a red drapery. In front of the cot are two figures each seated in an attitude of sorrow and dejection. This represents the well-known scene of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* or the Great Decease of the Buddha which happened at Kuśinagara in his eightieth year. The monk with the garland may be Ānanda, the foremost disciple of the Buddha, and the two figures in the foreground some of the disciples who, not yet completely emancipated from passion, wailed and lamented. The trees may represent the two *śāla* trees between which the cot, the last resting place of the Buddha, was spread. The *stūpa* in the background perhaps stands for the one which Buddha enjoined Ānanda to erect for the enshrinement of his ashes. It is well known that the relics were divided into eight portions over each of which was raised a *stūpa*.

Besides these conventional scenes of the eight Great Events ('Miracles') in the life of the Master on the extreme panels of the four folios, the middle one in each has a miniature representing a divinity of the Mahāyāna hierarchy.

(9) The first (Pl. XI, Fig. 6) represents a fully draped figure, resembling the Buddha, seated cross-legged on a cushioned seat and with a cushion at the back. A red *prabhāmaṇḍala* can be found around the body, and a halo around the head. The hands of the figure are placed in the *dhyanā-mudrā*. The figure has a red complexion and the yellow drapery produces a remarkable effect in contrast with the blue background. In the *Sādhana-mālā* a description is given of Amitābha, the most ancient of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. He was the first to appear in the developed Mahāyāna pantheon and texts glorifying his form and conception were composed from near about the beginning of the Christian era. As the spiritual father of the Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, the dhyāni Bodhisattva who looks after the world in which Gautama Buddha preached the Law, he is also the most eminent of the group. According to the *sādhana* he is to be of red colour and to have the hands in *dhyanā-mudrā*.¹¹ Amitābha, because of his position, is fairly represented in art and the present figure closely tallies with the iconographic prescription.

(10) The middle panel in the second folio depicts a much blurred figure of a two-handed goddess seated cross-legged on a lotus seat. The upper portion of the body is in slight flexion. The two hands of the figure are held near the breast in *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*. On either side of the goddess rise two stalks of lotuses each perhaps with a manuscript placed on the full-blown flower. The figure is totally discoloured and the details are obliterated. From the *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā* the goddess may be identified as the goddess Prajñāpāramitā, the embodiment of the Mahāyāna scripture of the same name. She is thus the goddess of transcendental knowledge and her worship was very popular among the Buddhists. She is also fairly represented in art. Among the illuminated manuscripts the majority constitute the *Prajñāpāramitā* Book, and the representations of the goddess are fairly numerous in these manuscript illuminations. Almost invariably does she appear on the cover as well as within the text, the representation in each case tallying closely with the description of the goddess in the *sādhana*. In the *Sādhana-mālā* there are several descriptions of the goddess. One of the forms is that of a goddess of golden complexion having two hands in *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā* and with a *Prajñāpāramitā* book placed on a lotus on each side.¹² It will be found that the representation here tallies in all essential particulars with this form of the goddess.

(11) The middle panel in the third illuminated folio exhibits a god, yellow in colour, seated on a grimacing lion of light blue colour. The two hands are shown in *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*. To the left of the god is seen a blue water lily and to the right a blue lotus. The figure has a cushion behind his back, the background being red. Locks of hair are seen falling below the shoulders. The body of the figure is heavily bejewelled. In the *Sādhana-mālā* a description is given of a god known as Mañjuvara, a variety of god Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist god of wisdom. The god Mañjuvara is to have a colour like that of molten gold.¹³ From the *sādhana* it will be found that the figure of the god in the illustration exactly corresponds to that of Mañjuvara. The five Dhyāni Buddhas which, according to the *sādhana*, the god Mañjuvara is to bear on the crest, are no doubt absent. But this feature is not so important when we remember that the god is represented in miniature and the salient cognizances are all there. It may

be recalled in this connection that among the different forms of Mañjuśrī the present one is fairly represented in Eastern Indian Sculpture.

(12) The middle panel on the last folio shows a god seated on a lotus seat in *lalitāsana*, between two long stalks of flowers, with *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā* in the two hands. The painting is badly effaced, and no definite identification is possible because of lack of details. The *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā* indicates that the god may be either Maitreya¹⁴ the future Buddha, who is to descend down to earth from the Tusita heaven four thousand years after the *Parinirvāṇa*, or a form of the god Mañjuśrī. It is possible that it represents the former as a fitting sequel to the representations of the life scenes of the last of the mortal Buddhas.

The illuminations of the present manuscript, along with those of the Cambridge No. Add. 1464 copied in the year five of Mahipāla, constitute the earliest records in the series of Eastern Indian manuscript paintings. As such they are invaluable for a study of this phase of Indian pictorial art. Unfortunately, the paintings in both the manuscripts are, to a certain extent, blotched, a circumstance that makes a correct appraisal of their qualities and characteristics rather difficult. Yet, the present illuminations are important as exhibiting, side by side, the thoroughly plastic conception of the 'classical' trend and the linear rendering of the 'mediaeval'. The plastic effect is achieved by modelling in colour as well as in flowing and sinuous lines. In the Nativity scene (Fig. 2) the rounded plasticity and surging mass of the figure of Māyādevī provide a contrast to the rather linearized treatment of the face of her sister. The oscillation between 'classical' and 'mediaeval' trends is already noticeable in Ellora paintings and this oscillation continues in Eastern Indian manuscript illuminations. On the covers colour modelling has a rather thinned appearance; but the easily flowing lines, unburdened by bulging curves, add a new note aesthetically which is to find its fullest scope in the subsequent period.

REFERENCES

- 1 *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-paramasaugata-Srīmad-Vigraha-pāladevapādānūdhyaṭa-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-paramasaugata-Srīman-Mahipāladevapravardhamāna-kalyāṇavijayarājye śaṣṭhasamvatsare abhiliṅkhyamāṇe yatrāṅke sameat 6 Kārtika-kṛṣṇatrayodasyāṁ tithau maṅgalavāreṇa bhaṭṭārīkā nispādītāmiti.*
Sri-Nālandāvasthita-Kalyāṇamitra-Cintāmāṇikyasya likhita iti.
Sastri, H. P., *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Government collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 1, p. 2.
- 2 *Parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramasaugata-mahārājādhirāja-Srīman-Mahipāla-deva-pravardhamāna-vijayarājye samvat 5 Āśvinakṛṣṇe . . .*
Bendall, Cecil, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*, p. 101.
- 3 Majumdar, R. C. (Ed.), *History of Bengal*, Vol. 1, p. 177.
- 4 *Jīno Vairocana khyāto Ratnasambhava eva ca*
Amitābh-Amoghasiddhīr-Akṣobhyaśca prakīrtitah |
Vārṇāḥ amīṣāṁ sitāḥ pīto rakto haritamēcakaḥ
Bodhyagri-varado-ghyāṇaṁ mudrā abhaya-bhūsprāu ||
Bhattacharya, B., *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 2.
- 5 In the canonical books there is nothing like a connected biographical account of the Buddha. The complete biographies that are known are compilations from the canonical accounts. The relevant details that have to be referred to in connection with these conventional scenes of the Master's life are mainly based upon the accounts of the *Jātaka* (Introduction by Rhys Davids, pp. 47ff.), *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvās u*, etc. A brief but succinct account has been given by Kern in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 12-46.
- 6 The Pali version make the tree a *sāla*, while according to the *Lalitavistara*, I, pp. 82-83 it is a *plakṣa* (fig tree).

- ⁷ *Ihāsane śuśyatu me śarīraṃ tvagasthimāṃsaṃ vilayaṃ ca yātu |*
Aprāpya bodhiṃ bahukalpādūrlabhaṃ naivāsanāt kāyamataścaśyate ||
Lalitavistara, V, p. 362.
- ⁸ Foucher, A., *The Great Miracle of Śrāvastī, Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. 147ff.
- ⁹ Śrāvastī was the place where all former Buddhas are said to have performed their greatest miracles (Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 33).
- ¹⁰ This event is supposed to have followed the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī, as it is a fixed law that all Buddhas resort to the heaven of the Thirty-three gods after performing their Great Miracle (Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 33).
- ¹¹ Bhattacharya, B., *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 3.
- ¹² *Bhagavatī Prajñāpāramitā pītavarṇā dvibhujākamukhī pañca-Tathāgata-mukhī vyākhyānamudrāvatī viśvadalapadme candrāsanaśinā sarvālaṅkāra-vastravatī vāmadakṣiṇapārśve utpalastha-prajñāpāramitāpustakadhāriṇī . . .*
Sādhana-mālā, I, p. 312; Bhattacharya, B., Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 126.
- ¹³ *Mañjuśrīyaṃ taptakāñcanābhaṃ pañcavīrakumāraṃ dharmacakramudrāsam-yuktam prajñāpāramitānīlotaṭpaladhāriṇaṃ śiṃhaśthaṃ lalitakṣepaṃ sarvā-lankārabhūṣitaṃ . . . Om Mañjuvara hum . . .*
Sādhana-mālā, I, p. 111; Bhattacharya, B., Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 25.
- ¹⁴ *Sādhana-mālā, II, p. 560; Bhattacharya, B., Indian Buddhist Iconography, pp. 13-14.*

GLOSSARY

Abhaya-mudrā—The gesture of assurance and protection. The hand bent and slightly elevated with the palm turned outward symbolizes this gesture.

Abhidhamma (Abhidharma)—Buddhist Philosophy.

Añjali-mudrā—The gesture of adoration symbolized in the two hands joined palm to palm before the breast.

Bhaṅga—The bend of the body.

Bhūmisparśa (Bhūsparśa)-mudrā—The gesture of touching the earth which symbolizes the Great Enlightenment at Bodhgaya. The right hand showing this gesture has the palm turned inward over the knee with the outstretched fingers touching the seat that stands for the ground.

Dharmacakra (Dharmacakrapravartana)-mudrā—The gesture connected with the preaching of the first sermon by the Buddha at Sarnath. It consists of the two hands held near the breast with the palm of the left inward and that of the right outward.

Dhyāna (Samādhi)-mudrā—The gesture of meditation consisting of the two hands, with palm upwards and fingers stretched, placed on the crossed soles of the feet.

Dhyānī Buddhas—The Celestial Buddhas in peaceful meditation. They have not to pass through the stage of a Bodhisattva, and it is from them, singly or collectively, that the other divinities are said to have emanated.

Jaṭāmukuta—The matted locks of hair tied upward in the shape of a crown.

Jñāna-mudrā—The gesture signifying wisdom. It consists of one of the hands held near the breast, palm inward and with the thumb and index finger joined.

Lalitāsana—The attitude of ease and grace in which one of the legs is bent in the usual position of the Buddha and the other dangles down.

Mahāparinirvāṇa (Nirvāṇa, Parinirvāṇa)—The Great Decease; the passing of the Buddha into the unconditioned state of *Nirvāṇa*.

Māra—The wicked one in Buddhist legend and theology.

Mudrā—Gesture signified with the disposition of the hands and fingers.

Nirvāṇa—See *Mahāparinirvāṇa*.

Pañinirvāṇa—See *Mahāparinirvāṇa*.

Pañbhāmandala—The aureole of effulgence.

Sādhana—The procedure of invoking Buddhist gods and goddesses in worship.

Sādhana-mālā—Collection of such *sādhana*s.

Samādhi-mudrā—See *Dhyāna-mudrā*.

Tribhaṅga—The body with triple bends.

Vajrasana—The Diamond Seat on which the Buddha attained perfect wisdom (*sambodhi*). The term signifies also the *āsana* or attitude of meditation in which the two legs are firmly locked, one upon the other, with both the soles upwards. Sometimes, a small effigy of *vajra* (thunderbolt) is shown to indicate the attitude which is also known as *Vajraparyāṅkāsana*.

Varada-mudrā—The gesture of granting boons consisting of the pendent hand with palm outward and fingers stretched.



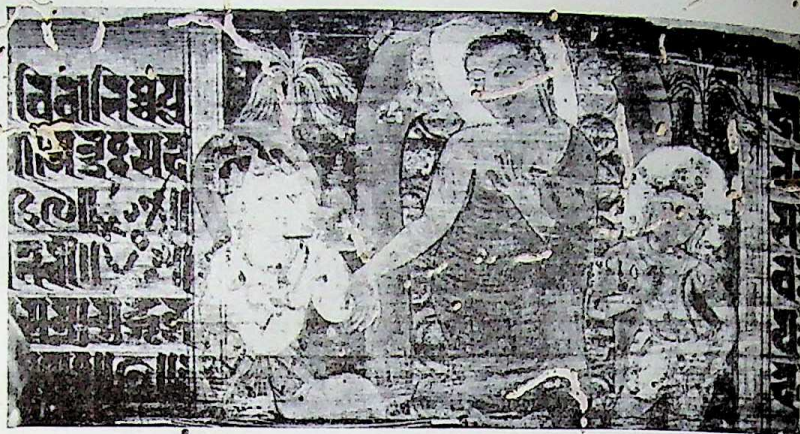
1. DHYĀNĪ BUDDHA AKṢOBHYA.

Co. Prajñāpāramitā MS. (R.A.S.B. No. G. 4713)



2. NATIVITY OF THE BUDDHA.

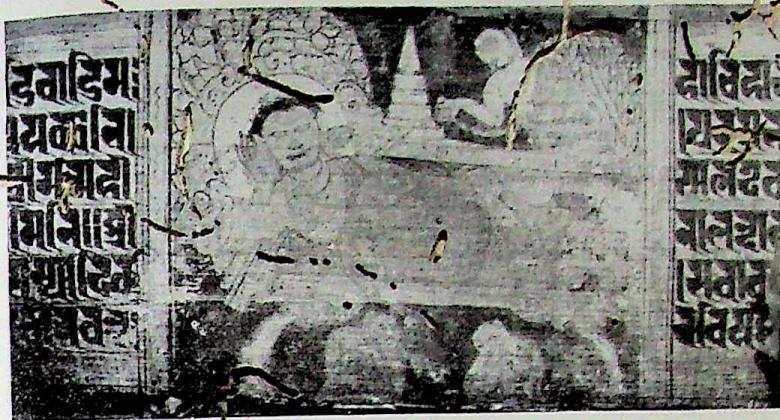
Prajñāpāramitā MS. (R.A.S.B. No. G. 4713)



3. DESCENT FROM THE TRAYASTRIṂŚA HEAVEN.
Prajñāpāramitā MS. (R.A.S.B. No. G. 4713)



4. OFFERING OF HONEY BY MONKEYS.
Prajñāpāramitā MS. (R.A.S.B. No. G. 4713)



5. THE GREAT DECEASE.
Prajñāpāramitā MS. (R.A.S.B. No. G. 4713)



6. DHYĀNĪ BUDDHA AMITĀBHA.
Prajñāpāramitā MS. (R.A.S.B. No. G. 4713)

TWO INSCRIBED IMAGES OF IMADPUR

By DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., F.R.A.S.B. and
DR. J. N. BANERJEA, M.A., PH.D.

(Received December 6, 1949)

In an article published in this Society's Journal,¹ I drew the attention of scholars to the fact that although the dates of these two records were very important in fixing the chronology of the Pala kings, we have to depend entirely on a footnote to an article by Dr. Hoernle so far as the reading of the date is concerned. For no facsimile of the inscriptions was published, and though the images containing them were exhibited at a meeting of this Society in 1881,² they were not to be found in the Society's collections, and all traces of them were lost. Mr. R. D. Banerji, who had the resources of both this Society and the Archaeological Department at his command, made a search for it, but could not trace it anywhere.³ With the kind help of the General Secretary I ransacked the records of the Society to get some clues as to the movement of these images, but failed. In my article, referred to above, I pointed out that mistakes were frequently committed in those days, even by learned scholars, in reading numeral figures, and therefore held that 'it is extremely doubtful how far reliance may be placed on the very cursory reading of the date added in a footnote by Dr. Hoernle,⁴ unchecked by anybody else'. In conclusion I expressed the hope that 'in view of the importance of the inscriptions an earnest effort should be made to trace these images'.

Quite recently, while going through the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress held at Bombay in 1947,⁵ I found a paper written by Dr. C. C. Das Gupta about these very images which he accidentally came across in the King Edward VIII Gallery of the British Museum. Unfortunately my article on the subject escaped his notice, and he did not seem to realize the importance of the date; in any case, he did not discuss its reading. No facsimile of the inscriptions was published along with the article, but it appeared from a footnote that Dr. Das Gupta was in possession of the 'impressions of these inscriptions'. I accordingly approached him and was told that they were sent to the authorities of the Indian History Congress, but were neither published nor returned to him. I then took up the matter with the Congress authorities and after about a month or two recovered the photographs of the images and pencil rubbings of the two inscriptions.

These justified the apprehensions I felt about the correctness of the reading of the date by Hoernle, which has been also endorsed by Dr. Das Gupta. The three letters before the figure 48 were read by Hoernle as *samatt* and by Dr. Das Gupta as *samatta*.⁶ But the last of these three letters, as will be evident from the facsimile, cannot be read either as *tt* or *tt*. It

¹ JRASBL, VII, 218.

² Proc. ASB, 1881, p. 98.

³ E. Sch. Med. Sc., p. 37.

⁴ Ind. Ant., XV, 195.

⁵ P. 245 ff.

⁶ It has been actually printed in one case as *samatta* (p. 247) which is probably a printing mistake for *samatta*.

is quite unlike any letter of the period of Mahipāla so far known to us, but closely resembles the figure for hundred given in Bühler's chart, Plate IX, Col. IX, the only difference being that the wedge-like sign, instead of being attached to the top is placed at the bottom, such as we find also in the Nepal MSS. (Bühler's chart, Cols. XXI, XXVI). I would therefore read the date is 148. This, referred to the well-known Nepal era of 880 A.D., would be equivalent to 1028 A.D., and this is quite satisfactory, as we have got another inscription of Mahipāla at Sarnath, dated 1083 *Samvat* or 1026 A.D. The use of the Nepalese era need not cause any surprise. Regarding the intimate connection between Nepāl and the Pālas about the time of Mahipāla, the following observations of Lévi may be quoted:

'It is not impossible that the Pāla dynasty had imposed at this time (beginning of 11th century) at least a nominal suzerainty over Nepāl. This satisfactorily explains the presence, in the Nepalese collection, of manuscripts copied during the reign of the Pālas, specially of Mahipāla and Nayapāla. Religion must have made the intercourse between Nepāl and Pāla dominions more intimate and frequent'.²

In view of this close relation between Nepāl and the Pāla dominions it is quite conceivable that the dedicator of the image was an inhabitant of Nepāl, and hence used the Newari era with which he was familiar.³

If my reading of the date be accepted, we get a fixed point in the chronology of the Pāla kings, and the Sarnath Inscription may be definitely regarded as having been engraved during the reign of Mahipāla and not after his death, as held by some scholars.⁴ Besides, the necessity for assigning a long reign of about 50 years to Mahipāla having disappeared, the dates of the earlier Pāla kings may be suitably adjusted. For example, the reign-period of Nārāyaṇapāla may be placed about ten years later, and his recovery of Magadha from the Pratihāras may be dated after, and not

¹ It no doubt looks like *n* with either an *u-kāra* or *t* joined to it. But a comparison of the letter with the *na* occurring twice in this short record shows that the letter is different; the circle is attached to the perpendicular line in *na*, but there is a small bar between the two in this letter. Even if we read it as *nta* or *nu* it gives no sense. *Samanta* might be a mistake for *Sāmanta*, but then *Samanta* followed by 48 is meaningless.

² *Le Nepal*, II, 188.

³ It may be noted that the numeral figure 4 is unlike that used in Bengal and Bihar during the Pāla and Sena periods, but closely resembles the form used in Nepalese MSS. (Cambridge MSS. Add. 1644 dated 325 NS-1205 A.D.—Bendall's *Cat.*, Pl. V).

The close connection between Eastern India and Nepal in those days is evidenced in various ways, and particularly through old manuscripts. The following information, kindly supplied by Mr. S. K. Saraswati, may be cited as not very infrequent instances where manuscripts written in Newari, the script of Nepal, refer to Indian kings in their colophons, or where manuscripts written in an Indian script bear dates in the Nepal era.

(i) Manuscript of *Kubjikāmata*, written in Newari script, but with the date referred to the reign of Rāmapāladeva of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal (... Rāmadevasya Paramesvara - Paramabhāṭāraka - Paramasaugata - Mahārājādhirāja - Śrīmad - Rāmapāladevasya pravardha). Sastri, *Nepal Catalogue*, I, p. 54.

(ii) Manuscript of *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* written in Newari Rāṇa but dedicated by Vāsantidevī, queen of Govindachandra, the Gāḥadavāla king of Kanauj (Śrī - Kanvakubj - ādhipaty-āsvapati-gajapati-vīrapati-rājatrayaṇī - devī - dhavidyāvicāra-vācspati-Śrīmad-Govindacandradevasya ...). Sastri, *Ibid.*, II, p. 78.

(iii) Manuscript of *Padmanābha-saṃgraha* written in Bengali but with the date in the Nepal era (*Nayapāladeśiy-ābhilikkhyamāra saṃvat 366*....). Sastri, *Ibid.*, I, p. 19.

(iv) Manuscript of *Nāgānanda* written in Bengali but with the date in Nepal era during the reign of Lakshmīkāmadeva. Sastri, *Ibid.*, II, p. 39.

⁴ R. P. Banerji—*Pālas of Bengal*, p. 76.

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before, the collapse of the Pratihāra power by the Pāstrakṣita invasion. But these questions need not be discussed in detail till after my reading of the date is generally accepted.

As regards the inscriptions themselves, the last portion in each case cannot be satisfactorily made out. But it is quite clear that the two records are not identical as Hoernle thought. I give below the readings of Dr. Hoernle and Dr. Das Gupta and then add my own, which is only a tentative one, based on the pencil rubbings which Dr. Das Gupta brought from England.

Hoernle :—

Śrīman-Mahipāladeva-rājasa samatt 48 jeṣṭha dina
Sukala pakṣa 2.

Dr. Das Gupta :—

- (1) Śrīman Mahipāladeva rāja samatta 48 jeṣṭha dine
Sukala pakṣa 2, laoo . . . oo.... deydharma.
- (2) Śrīman Mahipāladevarāja samatta 48 jeṣṭha dine
sukala pakṣa 2.. laoo.... . oo.... deya.

My reading :—

- (1) Om Śrīman-Mahipāladeva-rāja sam 148 jeṣṭha-dine
sukala-pakṣa 2 ālaicakoiri Māhava-sūta sāhi
devadharma. (Two letters *kara* are written at
the right end, above the line, and in a position
which seems to indicate that they are to be
inserted after *sāhi*.)
- (2) Om Śrīman-Mahipāladeva-rāja sam 148 jeṣṭha-dine
sukala-pakṣa 2 ālaicakoiri sāhi vahupa¹ ṭhaū-
kara deva(dharma).

The first part containing the date has been discussed above. The remaining letters evidently contained the donor's name as the word *devadharma* indicates. But it is difficult to construe this part and find out the actual name. The word *Sāhi* is common and so is *Kara* which precedes *devadharma*. The common word *ālaicakoiri* is very puzzling. This part may have been written in a provincial dialect of which the possessive is formed by *ra* or *kara*. The writer or the scribe had a poor knowledge of Sanskrit. Cf. e.g. Mahipāla for Mahipāla, Jeṣṭha for *Jyaiṣṭha*, Sūta for *Suta*, and *sukala* for *śukla*. The final consonants or *śrīmana* and *sam* are also not properly indicated and one might read them as *śrīmana* and *Sama*.

So far about the inscriptions. The images also throw much light on the history of mediaeval art in Eastern India. Inscribed images containing dates assignable to a particular era are very few and far between, and from this point of view these two finely cast bronze pieces give us a clear idea about the excellent state of the bronze-caster's art in the first half of the eleventh century A.D. Their iconographic features are also of great interest, as will appear from a note by Dr. J. N. Banerjea, appended to this paper.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

APPENDIX.

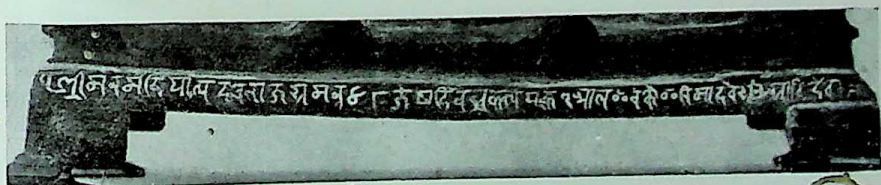
The identification and description of the two bronze images as given by Dr. C. C. Das Gupta in his article published in the Proceedings of the Bombay (Tenth) session of the Indian History Congress (247-48) require some modification. He has accepted the Museum label of one of the two images as 'Balarāma, Lakṣmī and Vāsudeva'. But there can be no doubt that the composition stands for 'Balarāma, Ekānāṁśa (also known in comparatively late period as Subhadrā) and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. The earliest

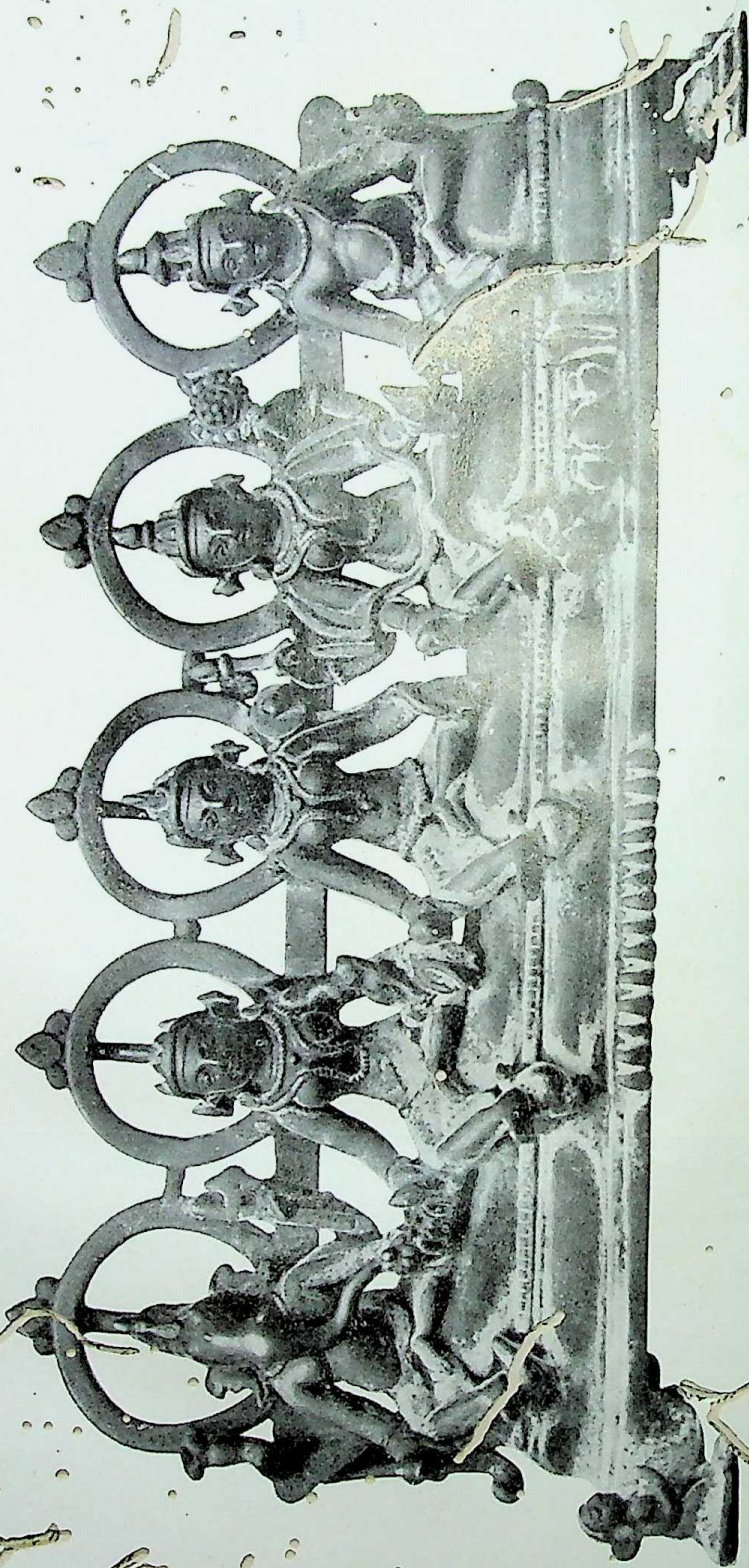
¹ It may be read as *pu* also.

account of such composite icons is found in the chapter on *Pratimālakṣaṇa* in the *Bṛhad-saṃhitā* (S. Dvivedi's Edition, p. 789). It reads—'*Ekānamśā kār्या devī Baladeva-kṛṣṇayor-madhye | Kālī-msthilā-vāmakarā sarojā-māreṣa c-odvahati.*' It means that 'the goddess *Ekānamśā* should be placed between Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa; her left hand should rest on her hip while the other (right) one should carry a lotus'. The *Viṣṇu-saṃhitā* (Bk. III, Ch. 85, 71-2) also gives us an identical account of *Ekānamśā*: *Ekānamśāpikartavyā devī padmākarā tathā | Kālīstha-vāmakarāsthā Rāma-Kṛṣṇayoh.* It is true that the goddess shown in the middle has a different disposition of her hands, the left one holding a mirror, and the right, an indistinct object (? a lotus). But her position in relation to the two other figures makes this suggestion highly probable, if not certain. The mirror also is one of the characteristic attributes of *Durgā-Pārvatī* who is no other than *Ekānamśā* in one of her aspects; the left hand of *Pārvatī* in the inscribed *Hara-Pārvatī* image of the time of *Kumārāgupta I* found at *Kosam* and now in the *Indian Museum* holds a *darpaṇa* (a mirror). The image of *Baladeva* on her right can be correctly described as follows: the god stands under the canopy of the spread seven hoods of a snake, wears the usual ornaments, sacred thread and *Vanamālā*, his back right and left hands are respectively placed on a *muṣala* (a pestle) and a *hala* (ploughshare), while the front left holds a *pānapātra* (a drinking vessel), the front right holding a scythe-like object. *Baladeva* or *Samkarṣaṇa*, in one aspect of his conception, is a bucolic or harvest god, and the attributes in his hand emphasize this character. *Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa* on the left of the goddess is adorned with his usual ornaments, *Vanamālā*, etc., his back right and left hands resting respectively on a *gadā* (a mace) and a *cakra* (a discus), the front ones holding a lotus bud and a conch-shell respectively. Dr. Das Gupta's description of the decorative design on the back of the composition can also be improved. On the top corners of the transom are shown on either side a peacock which lifts with a string the snout of a *makara* from whose mouth issues a row of pearls ending on the head of a horse-like animal from whose back rises upwards a long, lean, stylized lion which touches the pearls with its paws. There is little doubt that it is a somewhat novel version of the *Gaja-sārdūla* motif so frequently found in mediaeval eastern art. A stone relief of *Ekānamśā* in the collection of the *Lucknow Museum* was correctly identified by J. C. Ghosh (wrongly described by *Prayag Dayal* as *Lakṣaṇa*, *Sitā* and *Rāma*). The composition is very similar to the bronze relief under discussion, the left hand of the goddess, however, holds a lotus as laid down in the texts; the middle figure of *Ekānamśā* alone shows two flying garland-bearer *Vidyādhara*s on either side of its lotus nimbus, thus marking it out as the principal deity. The goddess was the tribal deity of the *Yādava*s; it is proved by some epic and *Purāṇic* passages (*JRASB*, 1936, p. 43, pl. 7). An extract from the *Kaumudī-mahotsava* quoted by A. Ghosh (*Ind. Culture*, IV, 272) also proves this, though the name is wrongly put there as *Ekānaṅgā* (A. Ghosh has correctly mended it). J. C. Ghosh has suggested with some justification that the images of *Jāgannātha*, *Balarāma* and *Sūbhadrā* in the *Puri* temple are local adaptations of this triad, and 'the worship at *Puri* represents the superimposition of *Vaiṣṇavism* over *Śaktism*' (*JRASB*, 1936, p. 6). The principal object of worship enshrined in the main sanctuary of the temple of *Aranta-Vāsudeva* at *Bhuvaneśvara* (*Orissa*) is nothing but this composition (*Balarāma*, *Sūbhadrā* or *Ekānamśā* and *Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa*) which also is kept and inside a subsidiary shrine within the compound of the *Līṅgarāma* temple in the same place. It seems that the *Ekānamśā* cult was of some importance in Eastern India in the mediaeval times.

The other bronze shows a row of five figures of which the one in the extreme left is Gaṇeśa and that in the extreme right is Virabhadra. The middle figures are those of the three *Mātrīs* mother-goddesses, who can be named from left to right as Kaumārī, Brahmāṇī and Vaiṣṇavī. The heads of all the deities are surrounded each by a halo. Gaṇeśa is four-armed, his back right and left hands holding a radish and a hatchet, his front right hand holds a citron while the front left, a potful of sweets to which his trunk is applied; he is seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose, his right foot resting on his mount, a mouse. The next figure is that of the two-armed Kaumārī seated in the same pose, her right foot placed on the cognisance of her consort, a peacock or a cock; she carries an indistinct object in her right hand, while her left hand is put behind the back of a small child-like figure placed on her lap. The figure of the child (*Kumāra*) seems to have some allusion to her name Kaumārī, who was the śakti of the war god, Skandakumāra. The next figure is that of the two-armed Brahmāṇī, her left foot resting on the back of the swan, right hand holding a citron (?), and the left one a lotus-stalk (?). After her comes the four-armed Vaiṣṇavī, with Garuḍa beneath her right foot, holding in her four hands a lotus bud, a *gadā*, a *cakra*, and a *śankha* from the lower right onwards; she is adorned with a *vanamālā* and the usual ornaments. The last figure in the row is that of Virabhadra, and not Kuvera, as suggested by Dr. Das Gupta, for it was the iconographic convention among the mediaeval artists of Eastern India, to place the *Mātrikā* figures between those of Gaṇeśa and Virabhadra who were regarded as their guardians. The objects in the two hands of Virabhadra, an *ugra* form of Śiva, are not clear from the photograph. Near the left corner of the pedestal are shown three pitchers which undoubtedly stand for the ritual *ghaṭas* of the three mother-goddesses. Flames rising upwards are shown in the middle of the pedestal. The sculpture is of unique interest, inasmuch as only three of the *Mātrikās* are depicted, and Kaumārī is placed first in the place of Brahmāṇī. It can be compared with two stone sculptures in the collection of the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, each of which depicts the same theme in a slightly altered grouping. In the first Virabhadra is placed first, after whom come in order Brahmāṇī, Kaumārī and Vaiṣṇavī with their usual cognisances, followed by the four-armed Gaṇeśa. The stone slab has a short inscription in late Pāla script on its back, reading—*deyadharmo'yaṁ*. The Museum records show that it was presented by a gentleman from Bogra. The second, which comes from the collection of the late Mr. P. C. Mookerjee, shows the three goddesses with Virabhadra, but Gaṇeśa is absent. The worship of these Tri-Mātrikā images as cult-objects throws some light on one aspect of Śāktism in Eastern India.

J. N. BANERJEA.





VALUE AND IMPORTANCE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN OLDEN TIMES

PROF. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, Krishnagar College

(Received May 11, 1950)

In studying manuscripts our attention is mainly directed to the text and subject-matter of the work copied. Paleography and the material of writing have also received some consideration. But details about owners and copyists as well as any other information about the manuscripts do not so far appear to have been given the consideration they so richly deserve. It is, however, found that they occasionally contain valuable and interesting bits of information about social and cultural history.

It is from these sources that we may form an idea about the high esteem in which manuscripts were held—about attempts that were made for the dissemination of learning through the multiplication¹ and presentation of manuscripts and about the state of education and culture in the country in general.² Curious sidelights are also incidentally thrown on important historical facts.³ The purpose of the present paper is to draw attention to this neglected aspect of manuscript-study. It does not claim to give an exhaustive treatment of the subject but aims at giving illustrative notes on some of the points with the hope that fuller treatment will be made by some other scholar.

Books were a rather rare commodity before the introduction of printing. Clearly they were not as easily accessible even with money as now. Ordinary people with a love of learning but with limited financial resources experienced great difficulties in securing books, owners as a rule, being very unwilling to part with them lest they should be lost or damaged.⁴ The time required and the hard labour involved in copying books can be very well imagined. Hence manuscripts of books were regarded as valuable treasures. We have it on record that at the time of Marhatta depredations in Bengal in the middle of the 18th century the people were fleeing with their children, the images of their tutelary deities as well as loads of manuscripts—the things which they considered to be their most valued possessions.⁵

¹ Well-to-do-persons often undertook to get many copies of important works prepared for the use of readers. It is reported that one had got hundreds of copies of the *Kalpākīraṇāvalīvirṭi* made evidently for this purpose (*Prasastisamgraha*, Ahmedabad, 1993 V.S., II, 879).

² Literacy and culture was not unknown among the masses. Manuscripts of popular works in the provincial languages copied by members of the lower classes are not rare. Female education does not seem to have been in as deplorable a condition as is generally supposed to be. Manuscripts of even Sanskrit works on different subjects are known to have been copied by and for ladies (R.A.S.B., i.e., Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, VIII, Introduction, p. xiii, *Prasastisamgraha*, II, 697, 698, 702, 695 of p. 197, 709, 734, 742, etc.).

³ One manuscript recording its date of copying states that it was copied in 1687 V.S. a time when Gujarat was passing through very bad days of famine and pestilence vividly described by the copyist in a few verses (*Prasastisamgraha*, II, p. 198).

⁴ Cf. The popular adage लेखनी पुस्तिका कान्ता घरदखगता गता। Of course, there were honourable exceptions and we have instances of manuscripts being copied for one's own use as well as for the use of others.

⁵ *Citraṅgī* of Bāṇesvara Vidyālaṅkāra: धनजनभारे मनोरसधारि विचारधारे मदाधनानां गृहीतगृहसारांस्वरभूषणभाजनानाम् । अद्भुतललितललालकलालालकानां

In fact, a sort of sanctity came to be associated with manuscripts. On occasion like the Sarasvatī Pūjā or Vasant Pāñcāmī day they are still ceremonially worshipped especially in Bengal. Worship is also offered to sacred books before they are recited on particular occasions. It may be mentioned that in these matters more sanctity is attached to manuscripts than to printed books. Making gifts of manuscripts was regarded as highly meritorious. Ballāla Sena (12th century) in the Purāṇa-lāna and Vidyādāna sections of his famous *Dānasāgara* as well as other later compilers of similar treatises quotes elaborate extracts from the śāstras referring to the great merits accruing from the gifting of copies of Purāṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Dharmasamhitās and the Vedāṅgas. Regular ceremonies are prescribed for copying and presenting manuscripts to temples as well as to pandits. The Jains laid special stress on the importance, from a religious standpoint, of copying and making gifts of manuscripts—gifts that were regarded as most efficacious of all religious acts (*Prasastisamgraha*, I, pp. 19, 27, 31, 38, 43, 46, 71).¹ Consequently numerous libraries or bhāṇḍāras sprang up containing valuable stocks of manuscripts. Building up such libraries was considered to be conducive to religious merit (*Prasastisamgraha*, II, MS. No. 373) and many people presented manuscripts to them (*Ibid.*, No. 375, 380, 737.) The practice of giving away sacred books is known to this day.² It is gathered from statements recorded in a number of manuscripts that people with a religious bent of mind would get copies of works, generally religious texts, made by professional copyists and make gifts of them to monasteries and religious teachers with a view to earn spiritual blessings for themselves or for their relatives. The act of copying itself was regarded as a work capable of winning religious merit. We have reference to a number of amateur copyists, including several ladies, who took upon themselves the task of copying books with this end in view (*Prasastisamgraha*, II, MS. No. 91, 213, 812). The necessity of multiplying copies of works from the mundane point of view is emphasized by Rājasekhara (10th century) in his *Kāvya-Mīmāṃsā* (Chapter X). He instructs poets to make many copies of their works as soon as they are finished; for a solitary manuscript may be lost or damaged through one or other of many causes like water, fire, sale and even gift. If, however, different copies are in the hands of different learned men there is every likelihood of their being carefully preserved and studied. It is for this reason that a Bengali scholar, Gaṅgādhara, who composed a commentary on the *Mālgdhabodha*, notified in the press in July, 1838, offering a reward of five rupees to any scholar who would make out

ग्रीवावलम्बितशालग्रामशिलानां दुर्वहमहाभारविविधशास्त्रपुस्तकसङ्ख्यापचयचिन्तासन्तापजर्जराणां भूमिनिर्जराणां... विविधार्तनादेन मिथोऽनुवादेन च क्षुभितमिव क्षमामण्डलमभवत् १४॥

¹ विषयजसुखमिच्छोर्गेहिनः क्वाप्ति शीलं करणवशगतस्य स्यात्तपो वापि कीदृक् ।

अनवरतमदधारमिषो भावना का तदिह नियतमेकं दानमेवास्य धर्मः ॥

ज्ञानाभयोपग्रहदानभेदात्तच्च त्रिधा सर्वविदो वदन्ति ।

तत्रापि निर्वाणपथैकदीपं सज्ज्ञानदानं प्रवरं दन्ति ॥

कालानुभावानुसन्तिमान्यतश्च तच्चाधुना पुस्तकसन्तरेण ।

न स्यादतः पुस्तकलेखनं हि आदस्य युक्तं त्रितरां विधातुम् ॥

न ते नरा दुर्गतिमाप्नुवन्ति न सूकतां नैव जडस्वभावम् ।

भवाभ्यन्तां बुद्धिविहीनतां च ये लेखयन्ति हि किनस्य वाक्यम् ॥

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses a manuscript of the *Agnipurāṇa* which was presented after recital to a Brahmin Nārāyaṇa by name in the year 180 V.S. (R.A.S.B., V, 3735).

a copy of his work and take it. The author hoped that if the work would thus come to the notice of the scholars all errors and inaccuracies would be detected and corrected.

Of course, professional copyists were given remuneration for their work and regular sale of manuscripts was also not unknown. It is interesting to study the rates of remuneration and the prices charged for particular manuscripts. Information available in this connection is scanty very few manuscripts giving necessary details in the matter. And I have not come across any very old manuscript containing any indication of its actual price or fee for copying. There are of course some old manuscripts referring to the existence of professional copyists who had occasionally to be paid large sums of money.² It would, however, appear that there was no fixed rate which was determined as usual by the degree of demand. Ward has noted the price and rate of copying as current in Calcutta in the beginning of the 19th century. According to him the price of written copies of the *Mugdha-bodha*, if written with care, was about Rs.3. Inferior copies were sold at one rupee and a half. A written copy of the *Amarakośa* sold for Rupees three (*A View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos*, Vol. I, p. 574, 577 f.n.). It is known that a copy of Pūjari Goswamin's commentary on the *Gitagovinda* was sold for ten annas only in 1812 (R.A.S.B., VII, p. 134). It was in the first half of the 19th century that Pandit Isvara Chandra Vidyāsāgara acquired the following manuscripts at the prices noted against each:—

Kāvyaadarśa (2,000 letters)	.. ..	Rupee one and a quarter.
Māghatikā of Kavivallabha Cakravarti ³	.. ..	Rupees five.
Rasamañjarīprakāśa of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa (900 letters)	.. ..	Annas eight.
Kirātāṭikā of Mallinātha ⁴	.. ..	Rupees two and a half.

I am noting here the price of another manuscript in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat which quotes its price:—

Bengali version of the Rāmāyaṇa by Kṛttivāsa, dated 1218 B.S. (1817 A.D.) (VSP manuscript No. 2574) .. Rupees five.

There are some manuscripts which do not record the exact prices but only refer to the transactions of sale or exchange. Thus we are told how even a vedic manuscript was purchased by one Vaidyanātha on payment of money and that one Upādhyāya was witness in the matter.⁵ A manuscript of the *Prabodhacandrodaya* was exchanged for a copy of a work presumably of the name of *Rasāmṛtasindhu*.⁶ The acquisition by money of two Jain manuscripts in 1343 and 1351 V.S. is referred to in the *Prasastisamgraha* (I, 161, 153).

1. B. N. Banerji, *Samvādpatre Śekāler Kathā*, Vol. II (2nd edition), p. 164.

2. पुस्तकानि तु लिख्यन्ते लेखकैर्लब्धवेदेनः ।

(R.S. dated 1352 V.S.—*Prasastisamgraha*, I, 32.)

त्रैमते पुस्तकं बह्वी द्रविणेन लेखयितेदम् । (Ibid., I, 63.)

3. The MS. of 10,000 letters was copied in 1218 B.S. (1817 A.D.) for rupees fifteen.

4. The manuscript was copied in 1736 S.E. (1814 A.D.) at a cost of rupees seven.

The Vidyāsāgara Collection of Manuscripts is now deposited in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta.

5. R.A.S.B., II, 514.

6. R.A.S.B., VII, p. 254.

As regards the rate of copying, Ward gives it as one rupee or twelve annas for every 32,000 letters in the beginning of the 19th century (*op. cit.*, p. 599). In his opinion the rate was very high, as the charges for copying big works like the Mahābhārata would be exorbitant. R. L. Mitra puts it at rupees four for 1,000 ślokas in the sixties of the last century (*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1869, p. 133).

I quote below the rates of copying as found in some manuscripts:—

Padmapurāṇa (Pātālakhaṇḍa) (R.A.S.B., V, 347) .. Rupees seven.
Kulārnavatantra (R.A.S.B., VII, p. 48) .. Rupee one.

Kālikāmaṅgala, a Bengali work, by Kṛṣṇarāma Dāsa, was copied in 1159 B.S. (1752 A.D.) for rupees two and two pieces of cloth.—(R.A.S.B., IX, 322.)

In 1714 a copy of Bengali Mahābhārata was made on condition that the copyist would be honourably maintained for life with food. He was also given some fee in cash and an annual grant.—(S. Sen, *Baṅgla Sāhityer Itihāsa*, Vol. I, 2nd edition, p. 465, f.n. 4.)

A Bengali version of the Rāmāyaṇa (four Kāṇḍas) was copied for rupees seven in cash together with a promised presentation of cloth, napkin and sweets.—(VSP, MS. No. 303, Chittaranjan Collection.)

Bengali version of the Mahābhārata (Virāṭaparva) was copied for one rupee in 1110 B.S. (1703 A.D.).—(Descr. Cat. Beng. MSS. Cal. Univ., Vol. III, p. 572.)

Bengali version of the Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva) was copied for only thirteen annas in 1253 B.S. (1846 A.D.).—(*Ibid.*, p. 717.)

It must, however, be confessed that the profession of a copyist was never considered to be honourable in society. The sale of learning in every form was deprecated at all times. There are definite records to show that when the printing press came to be introduced it was not deemed proper to get books printed and sell them. As a matter of fact copies of costly publications like the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Śabdakalpadrūma and the Bhāgavata were distributed free among learned pandits by a number of wealthy landlords of Bengal who published the works at considerable expense in the 19th century.

Like the imprecatory verses in land grants there were imprecatory verses at the end of manuscripts throwing interesting light on the value and importance of manuscripts. The date and authorship of the verses are not known. Some of them occur in fairly old manuscripts. The first half of the most popular of these verses यथादृष्टं तथालिखितं लेखको नास्तिदोषकः occurs in a manuscript from Nepal stated to have been copied in N.S. 217. (1097 A.D.). The expression लेखको नास्तिदोषकः is quoted by Puruṣoṭtamadeva (*circa* 10th–12th century) in his Bhāṣāvṛtti (II.2.24). Only a very few of these verses, presumably the older ones, have attained celebrity being found in manuscripts of different parts of the country—in some cases in translated versions in later Indian languages. They were specially composed for the purpose at different times by different people including not unlikely some of the copyists themselves. It may, however, be noted that the main themes of the verses are identical, their principal object is laying emphasis on the importance of manuscripts. It will be interesting to collect the verses from manuscripts scattered over various places. They have so far received scant attention at the hands of scholars engaged in the study of MSS. I am placing before the world of scholars a bird's-eye

view of the verses. It is expected that this will be followed by a thorough and systematic study by other workers.

The verses may be divided into four classes in view of the subject-matter of their contents. One class of these verses speaks very harsh words about people who would feel tempted to steal books. All sorts of curses are heaped on them. Vulgar insinuations are made about their birth and parentage. A few verses falling under this class are quoted below. Prose lines are found in Pāṅgali MSS. containing various curses and vulgar insinuations.

पुस्तकं हरते यस्तु काणो दुःखी भवेन्नरः ।

मृतः स्वर्गं न गच्छेत् पितरं नरकं नयेत् ॥

(MS. dated 1689 S.E.—Calcutta Sans. Coll. Cat., V, 76.)

अर्जितं भूरिकथेन पुस्तकं यच्च मेऽनघ ।

हर्तुमिच्छति यः पापी तस्य वंशक्षयो भवेत् ॥

(Tanjore Catalogue, XVIII, 14585, R.A.S.B., VIII, 6062 where the second foot runs पुस्तकं लिखितं मया.)

चौर्येण नीत्वा विषमेव मुक्ता ।

पित्रा च गूथं सह नारकी स्यात् ॥ (R.A.S.B., VII, 5589.)

आत्मनो ह्युपकारायोपकाराय परस्य च ।

इदं हरति यो मूढस्तस्य तातः पशुर्ध्रुवम् ॥ (R.A.S.B., VII, 4975.)

यत्नेन लिखितं चेदं यश्चोरयति पुस्तकम् ।

शूकरौ तस्य माता च पिता तस्य च गर्दभः ॥

(R.A.S.B. MS. No. 5204.)

The second class of verses contains appeals for the proper preservation of these fragile objects. MSS. were required to be carefully looked after like one's own children though they were to be tightly bound up like enemies. Incidental reference is made in these verses to the hard labour involved in the work of copying. A general appeal in prose is found recorded in an old MS. of the 12th century in the following words:—

पुस्तकमिदं रक्षणीयं पश्यद्विर्जनैः संशोधनीयं रक्षणीयं च सर्वप्रमादेभ्यः ।

(MS. dated 1145 A.D.—R.A.S.B., III, 1924.)

A few verses of this class are noted below:—

उदकानलचौर्येभ्यो मूकैभ्यस्तथैव च ।

रक्षणीया प्रयत्नेन यस्मात् कथेन लिख्यते ॥

(Prasastisamgraha, I, MS. No. 142—
MS. dated 1293 V.S. 108—
dated 1384 V.S.)

तैलादुरक्षेज्जलादुरक्षेदु रक्षेच्छिलवदधनात् ।

मूर्खहस्ते न दातव्यमेवं वदति पुस्तकम् ॥

(*Prasastisamgraha*, II, MS. No. 740.
It also occurs in MSS. No. 154, 200,
637, 666.)

भयपृष्ठकटिग्रोवः स्रज्जट्टिग्रोवः ।

कष्टेन लिखितं ग्रन्थं यत्नेन प्रतिपालय ॥

Variants:—°ग्रोवं, °मुखं, लिखति, ग्रास्त्रं, परिपालयेत् ।

(R.A.S.B., VIII, 6114, *Prasastisamgraha* I, MS. No. 111 (dated 1306 V.S.); II, MS. No. 666, Lakshman Svarup's Introduction to Nighantu, p. 33; Descr. Cat. Tanjore Library, I, p. 270.)

अनिलसलिलतैलश्लिष्टबन्धान्यहस्ता-

नववसननिवासाददन्तरायाददोद्यम् ॥

(*New Indian Antiquary*, July 1938, p. 250, f.n. 4.)

सम्भूयं सदपत्यवत् परकराद् रक्ष्यच्च सुक्षेत्रवत्

संशोध्यं त्रणिताङ्गवत् प्रतिदिनं वीक्ष्यच्च सन्निवृत्तवत् ।

वध्यं (न्य ?) वध्यवदश्लयं दृढगुणैः स्मर्यं हरेर्नामवत्

नैवं सौदति पुस्तकं किल कदाप्येतद् गुरुणां वचः ॥

(R.A.S.B., II, 306, Descr. Cat. Tanjore Library, I, p. 255, II, p. 22, N.I.A., July 1938, p. 250, f.n. 4.)

In this connection reference may be made to the prayers for the long life of the manuscripts.

अर्केन्दुमण्डले यावद् व्योमश्रीकर्णकुण्डले ।

राजतस्तावदेवास्तु पुस्तिका स्वस्तिशालिनी ॥

(*Prasastisamgraha*, I, 13 (1498 V.S.).)

यावद्व्योमसरोवरे विलसतो विश्वोपकारेच्छया

सन्नक्षत्रसिताम्बुजौघकलिते श्रीराजहंसाविह ।

अज्ञानप्रसरान्धकारविधुरे विश्वप्रदीपोपम-

स्तावन्नन्दतु पुस्तकोऽयमनिशं संवाच्यमानो बुधैः ॥

(*Prasastisamgraha*, I, 24, 45)

Variants:—°तः पक्षदयालङ्कृतौ ज्योतिर्जालजटालनिर्मलजले, °निकरप्रध्वंस-

दीपोपम°, श्रीस्वायमानौ ।

यावत्तवगसमुद्रो यावन्नक्षत्रमखितो मेरुः ।

यावच्चन्द्रादित्यौ तावदिदं पुस्तकं जयतु ॥

(R.A.S.B., VIII, 6140, *Praśastisamgraha*, II, 1082.)

यावन्मेरुकरे गभस्तिकटके ध्वस्तेऽयं पिन्याङ्गना ।

तावन्नन्दतु पुस्तकः सगुरुभिर्व्याख्यायमानो बुधैः ॥

(*Praśastisamgraha*, I, 14 (1308 V.S.))

यावन्मेरुं प्रतेपति रविर्द्योतते यावदिन्दु-

र्गावद्वायुः स्फुरति गगने तारकाः सन्ति यावत् ।

यावद् भूमिः प्रवहति पयः सागरे यावदेतत्

तावन्नन्दाद् गुणिभिरनिशं पुस्तकं वाच्यमानम् ॥

(*Praśastisamgraha*, I, 16.)

The third class of verses containing apologetic statements regarding errors of copying is perhaps the oldest and most popular.

यथा दृष्टं तथा लिखितं लेखके नास्ति दूषणम् ।

भौमस्यापि रणे भङ्गो मुनीनाञ्च मतिभ्रमः ॥

(R.A.S.B., VIII, 6110)

Variant :—लेखको नास्तिदोषकः ।

यादृशं पुस्तके दृष्टं तादृशं लिखितं मया ।

यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न दीयते ॥

(*Praśastisamgraha*, I, MS. No. 17 (dated 1306 V.S.), 18 (1383 V.S.), 20 (1480 V.S.), 22 (1318 V.S.), 92 (1306 V.S.), 111 (1306 V.S.))

करकृतमपराधं क्षनुमर्हन्ति सन्तः

(R.A.S.B., II, 318, *Praśastisamgraha*, II, No. 746.)

A complete verse with this as the fourth foot is found in the Tanjore Catalogue (Vol. I, p. 464). It runs :—

सरभसकरश्चेगभक्षुवर्णातिदोषे यदिह भवति शास्त्रे पुस्तके हस्तदोषात् ।

सकृन्मपि कृतान्तं सद्गुण्याहिकाः प्राः करकृतमपराधं क्षनुमर्हन्ति सन्तः ।

इह लिखितमशुद्धं शुद्धमेवं न दूष्यं

निजकृतमपराधं क्षनुमर्हन्ति सन्तः ।

(N.I.A., July 1938, p. 250, f.n. 4.)

यदक्षरं परिभ्रष्टं मात्राहीनञ्च यदुभवेत् ।

क्षन्तयं तद् बुधैः सर्वं कस्य न खलते मनः ॥

(*Praśastisamgraha*, I, No. 4 (dated 1334 V.S.).)

अदृष्टदोषाद् स्मृतिविभ्रमाद् वा यदर्थहीनं लिखितं मयात्र ।

तदार्यवर्यैः परिशोधनीयं कोपो न कार्यः खलु लेखकाय ॥

Variants:—हस्तस्य दोषाद् मतिविभ्रमाच्च यत्किञ्चिद्गूढं लिखितं मयेह, न्यूनातिरिक्तं, तत्सर्वमार्यैः, दोषो न देयः खलु लेखकस्य, प्रायेण मुह्यन्ति हि ये लिखन्ति ॥

(*Praśastisamgraha*, II, No. 525, 1261, Descr. Cat. Tanjore Library, I, p. 22; IV, p. 2368.)

Several more verses of a similar type are found in MSS. described in the Tanjore Catalogue (I, p. 22; V, p. 2554) as also in a MS. of the *Subhāṣitasuradrūma* a verse from the colophon of which is quoted on the last page of Prof. Kosambi's edition of *Śatakatrayādi-subhāṣitasamgraha* in the Singhi Jain Series. I am indebted to Dr. V. Raghavan of the Madras University for drawing my attention to these verses along with some other verses found in the Tanjore Catalogue.

The fourth class of verses seeks the well-being of all including readers, copyists and owners of MSS.

शिवमस्तु सर्वजगतः परहितनिरता भवन्तु भूतगणाः ।

दोषाः प्रयान्तु नाशं सर्वत्र सुखीभवतु लोकः ॥

(*Praśastisamgraha*, I, No. 15 (dated 1221 V.S.), 23 (1299 V.S.), 154 (1326 V.S.).)

मङ्गलं लेखकानां च पाठकानां च मङ्गलम् ।

मङ्गलं सर्वलोकानां भूमिभूपतिमङ्गलम् ॥

Variant:—मङ्गलं सर्वजन्तूनां मङ्गलं सर्वमङ्गलम् ।

(*Praśastisamgraha*, II, No. 1118, 1137, 1228, 1255, Lakshman Svarup's Introduction to Nighaṇṭu, p. 37.)

श्रीरस्तु सर्वजगतां श्रीरस्तु लेखके मयि ।

श्रीरस्तु लिखितं यस्य तस्य दृष्ट्याप्रसादतः ॥

(*Śāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 34, 162-3.)

The great importance attached to MSS., particularly the sanctity associated with them, had one baneful effect in adversely affecting the critical spirit of the people. The people at large would blindly accept as infallible whatever was found in MSS. They would be reluctant to question their

veracity and instances are not lacking where inaccurate readings, evidently due to copyist's error, have been accepted resulting in curiously wrong interpretations. An *ā* of *akṣārālavāṇāśinaḥ syuḥ* in a sūtra of the *Āśvālāyanagrhyasūtra* (IV. 5. 2) was somehow missed in the text of the *Suddhitattva* of Raghunandana and commentators had not the least hesitation in accepting *akṣārālavāṇa* as the correct reading and endowing it with a special sense. It is indeed a relief in these circumstances to meet with cases where copyist's errors are recognized and propriety of readings found in MSS. discussed on strictly logical grounds. Instances are met with in different works though they have not as yet been collected and properly studied. Prof. P. K. Gode referred to a number of them from the works of Hemādri and Ānandatīrtha¹. I have come upon a good number in a Smṛti work of Govindānanda of Bengal (15th century) which I propose to deal with in a separate paper.

¹ Textual criticism in the Thirteenth Century, *A. C. Woolner Commemoration Volume*, pp. 106-08.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL. By VERRIER ELWIN. Published by Oxford University Press in 1947. Royal octavo size. Pages xxi+730. Coloured plates 3, half-tone plates 151, black and white drawings 146, and maps 9. Price Rs.25.

Dr. Elwin needs no introduction. As a voluminous writer on the tribal life of the Central Provinces, Chattisgarh and Orissa he is equally well-known to anthropologists and laymen in India and abroad. He started life as a missionary but had been later on invited to join Government service. His sympathy for the tribal peoples finds ample expression through his writings.

The book under review contains a graphic account of a hitherto practically unknown tribe, the Murias of Bastar. Field-work among this tribe was carried out between 1935 and 1942. An analysis of Appendix I shows that his visits to the ghotuls (dormitory of the unmarried), which form the main theme of the book, were concentrated between November 1940 and April 1941, and again in November and December of 1941.

The laboratory-scientist is required to give a detailed description of his experiment so that it might be reproduced by other workers in the field, both for verification as well as for further development. This is a fundamental feature universally recognized. In the same manner the investigator in field-sciences is required to describe in detail his method of investigation and particulars connected with his field. In anthropological field-work this is more necessary as it records the picture of a changing society at a particular point of time. The nature and amount of change in the life of a people or in the make-up of an institution can only be judged if field-workers give details of their investigations. Social science may contribute its own mite to the benefit of human society by studying these changes and suggesting means to avoid their bad effects and adapt good ones. In recognition of this principle Dr. Elwin has, this time, given us some clues to his field-methods in pages xi to xiv.

It seems that the author did not know Muria language for which he borrowed the services of an educated Muria, Dhanuram by name (p. xiv). He perhaps carried out his investigation with the help of interpreters, or might be, in Gondi, where possible. There is no direct mention of this important fact.

Dr. Elwin conducted a statistical inquiry 'into certain specific facts relating to marriage from 2,000 adult married Muria men distributed in 220 villages'. It appears that the villages were *selected* by him, but he does not mention whether the 2,000 men were also similarly *selected or taken at random*. There is some difference between a selected sample and a random sample. An account of a sample survey should include this essential information. The author has neither printed the questionnaire nor dealt with the qualifications of his assistants who actually conducted the survey. It is, therefore, not possible to ascertain whether the assistants had the required theoretical knowledge of anthropology. These are important omissions in view of the fact that 'the results of this inquiry are among the most valuable conclusions of this book'. The statistical inquiry seems to have been conducted from the male point of view only, omitting the female side altogether. If he had collected

data from the 2,000 wives of these Muria men, on the very same topics, he could have enriched our literature to a considerable extent. This omission, however, is not always a defect but in the context of this case it was very necessary. It rarely falls to the lot of an ordinary field-anthropologist to hold the posts of Census Officer and Honorary Ethnographer, which Dr. Elwin enjoyed in Bastar.

To lie to an inquisitive ethnographer is a positive virtue with the Muria according to the author (p. 658). 'The Muria have no conscience at all about misleading the inquirer, and it is almost routine for them to give incorrect information at first.' They did so even to Mr. Grigson, but Dr. Elwin overcame this undesirable habit of the Muria by means of 'affection' (p. xi). This atmosphere of affection was, however, created for him by his trained assistants Sundarlal and Gulabdas and by his chaprassis Tularam and Manglu, who went ahead of the author to explore such possibilities of a particular village. If their approaches proved successful, the area was investigated, otherwise it was abandoned. This explains the shortness of the author's residence in the villages investigated by him, in about 60% of which he did not remain more than one day. Anthropologists would be jealous of the author's easy success with the *chelik* (bachelor) and *motiari* (spinster) who could not evidently resist his 'affection' and lay bare their cherished secrets—the sex-life of the *ghotul*—which they usually keep back even from their relatives and co-villagers of maturer age, under the sanction of a strict taboo.

The use of presents by the author to collect information is a risky practice (p. xiv). It may, at any moment, be converted into sale of information which is dangerous to our science. The author's characterization of the anthropologist as both detective and magistrate may not be appreciated by his compeers (p. xi).

In the words of the author 'the subject of this book is the *ghotul*, the village dormitory'. This cannot be properly studied unless its setting and background are clearly described. The latter is, therefore, dealt with in the seven chapters of the first part of the book. They describe the geopolitical background of the tribe, its economic life, its social organization, marriage, funeral rites and ceremonies, and religion. In the second part, he has developed the *ghotul* organization in all its aspects—social, religious, recreational, amorous, and educational. As a result, this part has covered more than 60% of the book. The author seems to have laid great emphasis on a not very important part of the individual's life. In the *ghotul* a Muria lad or girl passes about 7 or 8 years, in round figures, of his or her life, beginning from 10 to 12 years of age. This period cannot be claimed or accepted as the climax in the life of the Muria. It is only a prelude to more important phases which have been starved to provide an unnecessary glamour to this one which has led to a certain extent a disturbance of the equilibrium.

As an example of this disturbance of balance we may cite the case of the economic life of the tribe which has received scanty attention. He has finished a very important aspect of a people's life within a very short compass. To him poverty does not matter, because, in the life of a Muria 'at least twice a month there is a sharp break in the monotony, the colour and music of a festival, the excitement of a hunt, the romance of a dancing expedition—and all the time, if you are young, there is the *ghotul* which you would not exchange for any offer of material wealth'. A human being, unfortunately, cannot live on love and poetry, on music and dancing alone, he requires food and drink. And Muria society is not composed only of the young. The author has not

made any attempt to find out how much land a family possesses or what food it produces and whether that is sufficient for the unit. Trade, industry, arts and crafts, and habitation have not received their due share. The author does not describe the Muria methods of cultivation because some of them appear in books, already published, and others are quite common in the Province. His account of fishing and hunting is incomplete, and there is no information on the domestic animals of the tribe. In short, the productive economy of the tribe has received little attention from the author.

But Dr. Elwin is in his proper elements when he describes the 'Course of Muria Life'. The proverbs, riddles, and songs freely scattered in this account, of the growth of a Muria through childhood, adolescence, youth and maturity, create an atmosphere of reality. They convey the accumulated knowledge of generations and help, in an unerring manner, to give the tribal view of life. To my knowledge, there is no other book in Indian ethnography which can boast of such profuse use of these pithy sayings.

The main theme of the book, the village dormitory (ghotul), is introduced with a chapter on its distribution in different parts of the world and its origin. It is useful for the undergraduate students. It has, however, certain interpretations and expressions of opinion which call for examination. For example, the author attributes to Late Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy the information that Oraon boys and girls continue their pre-nuptial sexual relation even after marriage 'until a child has been born to either' (p. 296). But the late Rai Bahadur did never make any such statement. He merely wrote 'as Oraon boys are now sometimes married quite young, they now retain their membership, to all intents and purposes, until they have one or two children by their wives' (The Oraons—by S. C. Roy, p. 215). This certainly does not mean that married Oraon girls also indulged in extra-marital sexual relations until the birth of a child. On the contrary, the late Rai Bahadur had repeatedly attested to the chastity of married Oraon girls.

In the last few pages of this chapter (IX) the author has assembled the opinions of Peal, Hodson, Shakespeare, and Roy about the origin of the village dormitory. But he does not state whether he accepts nor rejects them. To him 'the fundamental reason for the ghotul is to prevent children watching what Freud called "the primal scene" and to commit to the older boys and girls the task of educating the younger children' (p. 321). This is not his own theory but the view of a large number of his Muria informants, which he has merely accepted but not evaluated.

In the next sixteen chapters the author draws a vivid picture of the life of the chelik and motiari in the ghotul. There are two types of ghotul, namely, the jodidār (yoked) and adalbadal (promiscuous). In the first type each boy is paired off with a girl; 'he is formally "married" to her'. They live as husband and wife throughout their ghotul life and have to be faithful to each other in their sexual relations. If one of them is actually married and leave the ghotul, the other is then provided with a mate by the ghotul fraternity. In the adalbadal type each boy is required to change his ghotul-partner after every three days. Any attempt at permanent sexual relationship between chelik and motiari is rigidly suppressed in this type of ghotul. In the author's opinion the jodidār ghotul was the original, one and the adalbadal type came into existence at a later date, in order to prevent the frequent cases of ghotul-pregnancy, which were against Muria social ideals. This change, according to the author, is a conscious attempt based on the Muria belief that conception was less likely when the cycle of coitus was frequently broken. It is doubtful.

whether an important social institution like the ghotul can change so radically on such an erroneous conception. The statistical inquiry shows the falsity of this conception. 'Among 2,000 men, 80 made motiari pregnant during their ghotul period; of these 25 or 1 in 28.8 belonged to jodidār ghotul, and 55 or 1 in 23.2 to the modern type' (p. 344). This could not have escaped the notice of the intelligent Muria. Dr. Elwin seems to have been misled by some of his informants who put too much emphasis on ghotul-pregnancy and consequent scandal as the only reason of the change of ghotul type, just to divert his attention from facts which might have led to the real reason. The true cause of this change may be traced elsewhere. Even now the jodidār ghotul has 'retained its place most successfully among the Jhōria, who are undoubtedly the oldest of the Muria groups' and the best sample of the people (p. 323). The modern type of promiscuous ghotul (adalbadal) is, however, more common in the culture-contact areas 'in the neighbourhood of towns and schools, or along the roads'. Therefore it is more probable that the change in the type of ghotul was first initiated in these culture-contact areas by factors essentially peculiar to this area and not by scandal of premarital pregnancy. A scientific distribution-study and analysis of culture elements may reveal the true causes of this sociologically interesting change.

Throughout the day the chelik and motiari work at home or in the field in the interest of their respective families. The ghotul life begins only after the evening meal when darkness envelops the village. One by one, at first the cheliks assemble in the ghotul house; the girls generally come together with a rush, later on, and then they start a romantic existence which is only disturbed by the mellowed light of the dawn when the motiaris hurry home before their parents leave their bed. In his inimitable style the author next goes on to describe the personal adornments of the inmates of the ghotul, the maintenance of discipline among the ghotul fraternity and their attitude to sex. This is followed by a graphic account of ghotul expeditions, of dancing and music, of games and riddles, of humour and tests of wit, which make the ghotul so attractive to its inmates. The author is at his best in delineating this part of Muria life. The book is brought to an end with a chapter on moral standards in the ghotul.

As a whole the work is a remarkable contribution to our ethnographic literature. In richness of details and collection of case-histories it is almost unparalleled in Indian ethnography. But when we come to the details we meet with numerous points which require more careful attention. The following are a few examples of them :—

- (1) On page 60 Kharkagaon is spoken of as the pen-reward of both Gaude and Kaudo clans, which is not possible.
- (2) Social organization of the tribe has not been properly dealt with. The table showing phratrics and clans (p. 61) is not of much use. The author's statement that he has 'somewhat arbitrarily divided the clans into these five phratrics' is not accurate. The clans under one phratry are 'dadabhāi' to one another and therefore observe exogamy among themselves. So, one can easily find out the composition of a phratry by tabulating a number of marriages. If the author had followed this procedure in the case of the 2,000 marriages investigated by him, he could have found many interesting facts about the present condition of Muria social organization. But to him details about *bhum* territory, clan gods, pen-rāwar and the clan system (p. 59) are not worth while to describe.

- (3) The author states that a man may marry his grandmother or granddaughter 'even when they are in the direct line of relationship' (p. 68). Unfortunately he does not give a single actual instance though he has recorded many case-histories to illustrate other customs.
- (4) Muria personal names have been classified on two principles, namely, linguistic and religious, working simultaneously. The percentages therefore do not reveal the actual position of Hindu religion or Hindi language. It would have been interesting if the author had given the percentages of Hindu and Gond names among the two sexes. That would have shown the relative position of conservatism among the males and females (p. 75).
- (5) The author investigated 2,000 adult married men among whom 150 or 7.5% were found sterile. He does not mention what method he employed to find out this fact. Was it by medical examination or merely by childlessness at a particular age? This makes a gulf of difference in the data. 'Sterility does not seem to be very common' among the Muria in the opinion of the author though it is 7.5%.
- (6) Formerly the Bondo unmarried girls used to live in pit-dormitories constructed on the outskirts of the village. They occupied it for six months from October. The author does not say where they passed their nights during the remaining six months. At present, according to the author, the pit-dormitory has disappeared as a result of the depredations of tigers. The author came to this conclusion on hearing many tales of tragedies from this source. The girls now live in an ordinary hut, constructed above ground, within the village. Removal of the dormitory into the village may be due to attack of tigers, but that does not explain the abandonment of underground construction. Moreover, there is no reason to believe that the Bondos came to their present habitat from an open country where tigers were rare. Customs do not change on such grounds.
- (7) *Jus primae noctis* and ceremonial deflowering of girls by men other than their husbands are attributed by the author to primitive man's desire not to have a virgin girl at marriage. Scholars may differ from him on this causal relation (p. 321).
- (8) The author attributes polygyny to 'the desire for offspring, the repayment of a debt, the need to restore injured dignity, a love-affair'. All of these causes have not the same importance nor are they found in the same proportion in Muria society. Information on their relative strength would have been more interesting and useful (p. 632).
- (9) 'Among romantically-minded people, child-marriage means, inevitably, domestic infidelity' (p. 659). Such a generalization is unjustified in view of the conditions prevailing in Hindu society.
- (10) Classification of the glossary of vernacular words into administrative, astronomical, agricultural, mortuary, religious, and such other groups, each arranged alphabetically, is a novelty of this book. But I am afraid it has defeated its own purpose. The glossary is meant to help the reader in easily finding out the meaning of a vernacular word unknown to him. This

is impossible in the present case; the reader is here required to surmise from the context the particular class to which the word, he does not know, belongs. This is not convenient.

The comments offered above are not meant to deprecate the importance of the author's contribution to the Science of Man. They are intended to attract his attention to other points of view regarding particular situations. *The Muria and their Ghotul* is a mine of information on the sex-life of an Indian tribe—an aspect which has so long received scanty attention from the scholars. We congratulate the author for this remarkable achievement.

T. C. DAS.

MIRĀ SMṚTI GANTH (Jan Bhārati Bhag 2), Bangiya Hindi Pariṣad, 15 Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta, Samvat 2009. Pp. 270+55. Price Rupees fifteen only.

This neat volume in Hindi contains articles and notes on the different aspects of the poetry of Mirā Bāi, the royal saint and poetess of the sixteenth century Rajasthan. The contributors are mostly well-known scholars, and the contributions altogether are well-written and illuminating. The value of the book is much enhanced by the inclusion of an anthology of Mirā's songs, or rather the Rajasthani and Hindi songs with the signature of Mirā, critically selected. *Mirā Smṛti Ganth* is a creditable production of Bangiya Hindi Pariṣad, and it deserves an honourable place in the study of the student of Indian literature and devotional mysticism.

SUKUMAR SEN,
14-6-50.

A HISTORY OF MAITHILI LITERATURE, Vol. I, by Dr. Jayakanta Mishra, M.A., D.Phil., Lecturer, Allahabad University. Tirabhukti Publications, 1, Sir P. C. Banerji Road, Allahabad, 1949. Price Rs.15. Pp. i-xxviii, 1-472. A foreword by Professor Amarnath Jha and an introduction by Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji; three appendices and seven plates.

The work under review is in eleven chapters and divided into two parts. The first part gives 'the background' in three chapters, 'Mithila and her people', 'the Maithili language and its script', and 'Introducing Maithili literature'. It is regrettable that Sanskrit poetry produced in Mithila has been totally ignored. In his treatment of Maithili versification the author has been sadly misled by Locana's erroneous attempt to connect the *rāgas* of the vernacular lyric poetry with definite metrical patterns. The *gaṇa* mentioned by Locana in this connection is indeed *mātrā-gaṇa*, but it is *tāla-mātrā* (unit of musical beat) and not *chanda-mātrā* (unit of metrical scansion, mora). Had Dr. Jha cared to go to the ultimate spring of the vernacular lyric poetry, Jayadeva's songs, he would have at once detected Locana's fallacy. *Paṣyati diśi diśi rahasi bhavantaṁ* and *sīanavinipitam api hāram udāram* both are written in the same metre of 16 morae but their *rāgas* are different, the first in Gondakiri and the last in Deśa (or Deśākha).¹

I have examined several MSS. and printed editions of *Gitagovinda* dating between 1622 and 1852. The *rāgas* are everywhere the same.

The three chapters of the second part deal with early Maithili literature, 'Maithili literature prior to Vidyapati', 'the age of Vidyapati Thakurā (1350-1450)', and 'the contemporaries of Vidyapati (c. 1450-c. 1527)'. Dr. Jha has taken great but futile pains to prove that the 'Old Bengali Caryā songs' discovered by Haraprasad Shastri are really Maithili. Not satisfied with that he has extended his claim to the vernacular (Bengali) vocables cited by Sarvānanda in his commentary on *Amarakoṣa*. But Dr. Jha, overcarried by enthusiasm, forgets that Sarvānanda was a 'Banerji' (*Banarjī*) which is exclusively a Bengali brahmin surname. The most daring originality in this chapter is the omission of Umāpati Ojha, a minister of Harasimha. According to Dr. Jha Umāpati belonged to the latter half of the seventeenth century (p. 307). The argument in support of this datation is flimsy to say the least. Eight pages are devoted to the discussion of the language of the Caryā songs, but *Prākṛta-paṇḍita* has been dismissed with a single sentence and with a reference to a modern Maithili writer. The work of Dr. Jha has certainly become poorer from not mentioning Hari-brahma and his Avahattha poem collected in *Prākṛta-paṇḍita*. The poet was a protégé of Candēśvara the mighty minister of Harasimha, and the poem is a panegyric on the poet's patron. The long chapter on Vidyapati is merely a summary of all that had been done, and no new light is thrown. A little investigation would have brought in new facts about the old master.¹

The third and last part, 'Middle Maithili Literature' is in five chapters, 'Maithili drama in Nepal', 'the Kirtaniyā drama of Mithilā', 'Maithili drama in Assam', 'Middle Maithili prose', and 'Middle Maithili poetry'. It is true that after the dispersal of the court of Harasimha (1324) many of his learned courtiers sought refuge in Nepal, but at the same time it cannot be denied that Bengal scholarship had an honoured place there even earlier. The musical plays and playlets which the kings and nobles of Nepal had patronized for centuries, and which Dr. Jha calls 'Maithil drama' were not the monopoly of writers, Maithili or any other. Dharmagupta, who possessed the title 'Bāla-sarasvatī' and wrote *Rāmāṅka-nāṭikā* and *Ramāyana-nāṭaka* (late fourteenth and early fifteenth century) was a Bengali brahmin. *Gopīcandra-nāṭaka*² written during the reign of Siddhinarasimhamalla of Lalitapura (1620-57) is almost entirely in Bengali. *Kṛṣṇadeva* the author of *Mahābhārata-nāṭaka* (1702), perhaps the longest vernacular lyrical play coming from Nepal, was a Bengali. So was Gaṇeśa the author of *Rāma-carita* and a protégé of Raṇajitamalla the last Gorkha king of Nepal. It is surprising that Dr. Jha would accept Kṛṣṇadeva's play as a typical 'Nepalese Maithili drama'. What Dr. Jha calls 'Kirtaniya drama of Mithilā' (Chapter VIII) are indeed *padāvalī* (serial lyric songs). The Brajabulī lyric poetry produced in Assam in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is, with equal unreason, claimed as 'Maithili drama in Assam' (Chapter IX).

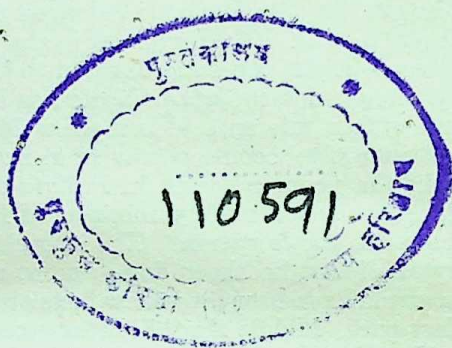
Dr. Jha's work shows erudition and hard work, and he has collected much useful and interesting information throwing light on the literary history of north-eastern India. But as a history of Maithili literature the book is neither precise nor adequate.

SUKUMAR SEN,

13-6-50.

¹ Vidyapati was alive and engaged in teaching as late as 1460.

² Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji's copy from the Cambridge MS.



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CALCUTTA:—Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Printed by Norman A. Ellis, Baptist Mission Press, 41A Lower Circular Road.

Compiled
1999-2000

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